XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Eng. by F. E. Jones
from a dag.

Henry Harvey

UNIV. OF MICH.

H W Richardson

HISTORY

OF THE

SHAWNEE INDIANS,

FROM THE YEAR 1681 TO 1854, INCLUSIVE.

BY

HENRY HARVEY: missionary to the Shawnee Indians

A MEMBER OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CINCINNATI:
EPHRAIM MORGAN & SONS.
1855.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1855, by
HENRY HARVEY,
In the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio.

E. MORGAN & SONS,
STEREOTYPERS.

Ref-atks
Clark
11-7-40
41771

11-13-40 57

PREFACE.

Having for a number of years, been engaged to carry out the views of the Religious Society of Friends, in their endeavors to ameliorate the condition of the Shawnee tribe of Indians, by imparting to them a knowledge of letters and the domestic arts, as well as to acquaint them with a knowledge of the doctrines and principles of the Christian religion, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, I have become very much attached to them, on account of a near intimacy with them, which enabled me to become acquainted with the character of this noted and very interesting people; and being connected with them too, at a time when one of those severe trials overtook them, of which, the Indians so much complain, more bitterly by far than they do of the most desolating wars, by which they have ever been visited—which was the procuring from them their reservations of land at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek, in the State of Ohio, containing near one hundred thousand acres.

These favored spots, they were warmly attached to, on several accounts, the most prominent of which, was, that there was the memorable place in which they exchanged their savage life for a domestic one; the fatigue and uncertainty of the chase, for the quiet and certain pursuit of the plow.

Here, as they thought, at last they had found a spot where they could repose in security and in peace; but, Oh! herein were they sadly mistaken, for, instead of realising these things, they were made again to suffer by the avaricious disposition of a stronger power, who soon let them know that this land was wanted for other purposes, than for them and their offspring to occupy; that the white people wanted it, and must have it. I have been an eye-witness to most I have related in regard to this people, and, in all my intercourse, have ever found them a noble, generous-hearted, honest, and ever-confiding people, of strong minds, powerful intellect, warmly attached to their friends, ever true to their word in matters of interest, when treated fairly; patient under suffering, under a conviction of their weak and helpless condition as a nation, in comparison to that of the United States.

Inured as they have been for years past, to sufferings, and hopeless too of ever realising better days in this world, I have thought that some account of this interesting people ought to be preserved for posterity, in order that those who come after us may see it, when this once powerful people will be numbered with the nations that are not. And, notwithstanding I am so well aware of my inability to do justice to this people in thus taking on myself the task, on several accounts, among which are, my want of the means of arriving at all the facts respecting their history, which I am aware is not within my reach, and which, I suppose, cannot be obtained by any person whatever, and also a lack of education—being but a very poor scholar, still, notwithstanding all these obstacles, so earnest is my desire to see such a work before the public, that I have concluded to attempt it at least, hoping that if it meets the public eye, it will be in a style that can be understood; and if I am successful thus far, and can leave on the mind of the reader such feelings of attachment for this people, and of commiseration and lasting sympathy as the writer of these pages hopes to carry with him, to the end of his days, his object will be accomplished, in undertaking the work.

I have got information of the Shawnees, as far back as the year 1682; shall quote from good authority, what I insert in my history, and in giving an account of the Shawnees, shall have to quote entire transactions which took place with them, in connection with other tribes, (in order to give their full history,) as well as their transactions separately, as a nation.

Whenever anything may be said respecting the Religious Society of Friends, in connection with the Shawnees, or, of myself, (being a member,) as an individual, or, as an agent of the Society, I hope the reader will not charge me with egotism, but simply receive what I say, as it is intended, as nothing but a history of events which are so intimately connected with the object for which I set out, that I must state the whole truth, as it has come within my reach, hoping in this way, to make my work interesting to the reader.

H. H.

Ninth month, 21st, 1855

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—Character, Manners, and Customs of the Indians, by William Penn, with his view of their Origin.. 11

CHAP. II.—Remarks by the Author.................. 22

CHAP. III.—William Penn's Letter to his Friend in England, on the course pursued toward Indians. 24

CHAP. IV.—Departure of Three Ships, with Passengers for Pennsylvania; and Penn's Letter to the Indians.. 26

CHAP. V.—Penn lands at Newcastle—Takes Legal Possession of the Country, and holds his Celebrated Treaty of 1682.......................... 29

CHAP. VI.—Settlement of New Jersey—Kindness of the Natives, etc.................................. 41

CHAP. VII.—William Penn's Treaty of 1701......... 44

CHAP. VIII.—Thomas Chalkley's Account of Penn, of the Indians, and of the Shawnees in particular—Remarks of Doctors Trumbull and Bancroft...... 51

CHAP. IX.—Treaty with Governor Gordon and others, in the year 1715.................................. 55

CHAP. X.—Description of the Country (before the Whites landed,) occupied by the Indians—their Language, etc.. 60

CHAP. XI.—Disagreement among the Indians settled by the Governor of Pennsylvania................. 70

CHAP. XII.—Indian murdered by Whites—Arrested by order of William Penn........................... 73

CHAP. XIII.—Residence of the Shawnees from 1671, to 1786.. 81
CHAP. XIV.—Council in 1786 with the Shawnees,... 86
CHAP. XV.—Treaties with the Shawnees in 1786 and 1789.. 91
CHAP. XVI.—Council with A. Gamlin, in 1790....... 97
CHAP. XVII.—Cornplanter's Speech to Gen. Washington in 1791.. 100
CHAP. XVIII.—Council with General Wayne......... 111
CHAP. XIX.—Treaty with General Wayne in 1795... 118
CHAP. XX.—Shawnees and Delawares visit the Friends of Philadelphia, and President Jefferson—His Letter dated 1802.. 129
CHAP. XXI.—Charles Jewit's Treaty in 1805......... 132
CHAP. XXII.—William Hull's Treaty in 1808......... 134
CHAP. XXIII.—Society of Friends commence their Labors for the Shawnees in 1809.................. 138
CHAP. XXIV.—Governor Harrison and Tecumseh, a Shawnee Chief, 1810.. 153
CHAP. XXV.—Council at Greenville, 1812............ 158
CHAP. XXVI.—Treaty with Cass and McArthur in 1817, by which the Shawnees receive land at Wapaughkonetta—Names of these Shawnees, heads of Families.. 161
CHAP. XXVII.—Situation of the Shawnees in 1809—Account of their Hunts, Trapping Prowess, Manner of Life, Superstition, etc.......................... 164
CHAP. XXVIII.—Narrative respecting a Shawnee Woman, who was condemned to a cruel Death by the Council, in 1819, and who was saved by Isaac Harvey 169

CHAP. XXIX.—Treaty with Missouri Shawnees, by which they procure Fifty Miles square on Kansas River—Treaty held at St. Louis, 1825........... 184
CHAP. XXX.—Author takes charge of Friends' Mission at Wapaughkonnetta, 1830—Death and Burial of the Old and Celebrated Chief, Blackhoof, in 1831.................................. 185
CHAP. XXXI.—Treaty with Gardner—Shawnees Defrauded—Ask the aid of the Friends—Speech of Wayweleapy on the occasion................ 190
CHAP. XXXII.—The Society send a Deputation with the Chiefs to Washington City, in 1831—The result of their labors at that time................ 209
CHAP. XXXIII.—Shawnees suffer for Food—Relieved by Governor Cass, in 1832...................... 215
CHAP. XXXIV.—Terms offered by Gardner for the Shawnees' land in Ohio—Compared with what they actually receive under the treaty........... 221
CHAP. XXXV.—Shawnees remove to their new homes in 1832—Account of their leaving Ohio.......... 230
CHAP. XXXVI.—Author, in company with two other Friends, visits them in 1833, and with one other, again in 1834.............................. 234
CHAP. XXXVII.—The Secretary of War, whose duty it was to pay to the Shawnees the money allowed by act of Congress "as an additional compensation for their Ohio lands, refused payment, but on application being made in 1835, Congress orders the money then due to be paid to the Indians..................................... 237
CHAP. XXXVIII.—Three Missions set up about 1835, for the instruction of the Shawnees............... 239
CHAP. XXXIX.—Author takes charge of the Friends' Mission in the year 1840.......................... 241

CHAP. XL.—Attempt to obtain land of the Shawnees for the Wyandots.......................... 243

CHAP. XLI.—Author leaves with his family in 1842—Parting scene on the occasion.................. 250

CHAP. XLII.—Remarks of Author on the subject of Treaties with Indian tribes................... 253

CHAP. XLIII.—Letter from Chiefs to the Commissioners of the United States in 1793............. 259

CHAP. XLIV.—Congress grants to the Shawnees the additional sum of $66,000 in 1853, for their Ohio lands.. 267

CHAP. XLV.—Condition of the Shawnees in the year 1854, by the Author, from personal knowledge of them, and of their Country................... 269

CHAP. LXVI.—Attempt to again purchase the Shawnees' land—Remarks of Author on the subject of again disturbing them in this way............... 275

CHAP. XLVII.—Condition of the Missions among the Shawnees in 1854—Author's views in regard to Slaves at some of those Missions................. 280

CHAP XLVIII.—Constitution adopted by the Shawnees—Speeches on the occasion, by Chiefs....... 283

CHAP. XLIX.—Remarks of Author on the subject of again removing the Shawnees.................. 297

CHAP. L.—Conversation between an Educated Indian and a Southern Missionary, on the subject of Slaves at Missions............................ 299

CHAP. LI.—Account of Cornstalk and Logan—Indian Chiefs—Their untimely end...................... 306

CHAP. LII.—Council with Shawnees for the purchase of their land—The Result.................... 310

CHAP. LIII.—Account of an Osage Wedding........ 314

HISTORY

OF THE

SHAWNEE INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

The character of the native Indians, their customs and manners, in an uncultivated state, I apprehend, is, at all times, interesting to those who are now filling the places of these poor creatures in this rich and fertile land; and having been acquainted with several tribes which have had an opportunity of becoming civilized, and finding that the character given by Wm. Penn, of the Indians in his day, agrees so well with the character of the uncultivated Indians of the present time, and as the Shawnees were one of the tribes with whom he had connection, and with whom he formed his celebrated treaty in 1682, I have concluded to insert entire, his account of the character, manners and customs of the Indians. I may remark, that so far as I am acquainted with the Indians, they have dispensed with the office or title of king, and a head chief rules each nation, who is very much of a monarch; his word or command being considered absolute.

Wm. Penn, says: "The natives, I shall consider, in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportions. They tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin; of complexion, dark, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bears' oil clarified; and, using no defense against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight Jew; the thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indian and the blacks, are not common to them, for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as on the other side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the nose of many of them has much of the Roman.

"Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but like the Hebrew, in signification, full, like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions. I have made it my business to understand the language, that I might not want an interpreter on any business, and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs. For instance:—Oc-to-co-chan, Ran-co-cas, Orie-ton, Shack, Po-ques-can, all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them.

"Of words of sweetness, Anna is mother; Issemas, is brother; Nit-cap, is friend; Ur-gue-vut, is very good; Pa-ne, is bread; Metsa, eat; Mettah-ne-Hattah, to have; Paya-ta-camis, Sa-pus-sin, Pas-se-gun, the names of places. Tar-ma-nee, Se-ca-ne, Ma-nan-se, Sa-ca-to-rious, are the names of persons.

"If one ask them for anything which they have not, they will answer, 'Mettah-ne-hattah,' which, to translate, means, is not I have, instead of I have not.

"Of their manners and customs, there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the river, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a cloth, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it first upon the board, to make it straight—wherefore all Indians have flat heads—and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months old, commonly; they use only a small cloth round their waist, till they are large; if boys, they go a fishing, till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after giving some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them young, which they must do when they are old, for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise, the men are very affectionate to them.

"When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something on their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen or fourteen; if boys, seventeen or eighteen; they are seldom older.

"Their houses are mats, or bark of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of English barns, out of the power of winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass; in traveling, they lie in the woods, about a great fire, with the mantle of duffles they wear by day, wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck around them.

"Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten, and boiled with water, which they call hominy; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat; they have likewise several sorts of beans and peas, that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers are their larder.

"If a European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place, and the first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an 'Itah,' which is as much as to say, good be to you, and set them down, which is generally on the ground; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all that is passing. If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

"They are great concealers of their own resentment, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiced among them; in either of these, they are not exceeded by the Italians.

"But in liberality they excel, nothing is too good to set for a friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually, almost; they never have much, nor want much; wealth circulateth like the blood, all parties partake, and none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings sold, others presented me with several tracts of land; the pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king, then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a portion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity which is admirable. Then the king subdivides it in like manner among his subjects, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects, and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them; in this, they sufficiently revenge on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are *free from* our pains.

"They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere; they eat twice a day, morning and evening; their tables and seats are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong drink, rum especially, and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquor, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is, their cry, some more, and I will go to sleep; but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

"In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give everything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a teran, or concoction of some roots, in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they men or women, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love; their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year; they are choice of the graves of their dead, lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use; they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

"These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the traditions of it they have only, yet they believe in a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for, say they, there is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico; their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and the fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvelous fervency and labor of body that they will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their Cantico, [illegible] performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle, that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus.

"Their postures in the dance are very antique and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearances of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that would; I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty fat bucks with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that, they fall to dancing. But they that go must carry a small present, in their money; it may be sixpence; which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver, they call it all wampum.

"Their government is by kings, which they call sachems, and those reign by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him who is now king, will not succeed, but his brother, by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them, the children of her daughter,) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

"Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which number, perhaps, two hundred people; nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war or peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade; their order is this:—The king sits in the middle of a half moon, and has his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, at a little distance, sit the younger part, in the same figures. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand and told me that 'he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and now it was not he but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind.' He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English, beside, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolved, and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price, which is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old were grave, the young reverend in their deportment; they speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without (I was going to say,) the spoil of tradition; and he will deserve the name 'man,' that outwits them, in any treaty about a thing which they understand. When the purchase was agreed on, great promises were made, on both sides, of kindness, and good neighborhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love, as long as the sun gave light; which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers or kings, first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government. That many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such a one that treated them so well, they should never do him or his people any wrong. At every sentence of which, they shouted, and said Amen, in their way.

"The justice they have is pecuniary; in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the offense, or person injured, or of the sex they are of; for, in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render, is that she can raise children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk, forgive it, saying, 'it was the drink, and not the man,' that abused them.

"We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall settle the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them, the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their views, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things: but as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their right, with all the pretensions to a higher manifestation; what good then might not a good people engraft, where there is so distant a knowledge left between good and evil.

"I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God, for it were miserable, indeed, for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indians' consciences, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

"For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a land not planted or known, which to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe, and he that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost part of Asia, to the westernmost part of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Dukes' Place, or in Berry Street, in London, when he seeth them; but this is not all: they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women, with many other things that do not now occur."—*History from the year* 1681, *to the year* 1701.

CHAPTER II.

HAVING thus given place to the character, manners and customs of the Indians, by the celebrated William Penn, as well as to his opinion of their origin, (which no one who is acquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians of the present day who are in their uncultivated state, will question,) I shall give some account of Penn's treaty; and this seems to be the first authentic account we have of any intercourse between the Shawnees and the whites, except that mention is made by a writer on the subject, who says that originally the Sac and Fox Indians occupied the country (with the Shawnees,) south-west of the Missouri, from Green Bay and Fox River, to the Mississippi, and hunted over the land between the Wisconsin and the upper branches of the Illinois; and that the Shawnees are said to have affinity with these nations, which would lead to the conclusion that they were inhabitants of that country previously to their living within what is now the limits of Pennsylvania, which I am inclined to believe, from the fact that they speak the same language of the Sacs and Fox Indians. It seems that they had removed their residence to Pennsylvania previous to the year 1682, as they were a party to the treaty of William Penn, of that date.

Thus I consider the first reliable histofical account we have of the Shawnees, may be traced to that period, and as they were at that treaty, and that, too, the first treaty they ever attended, which we have any account of, I shall insert here such authentic accounts of the transactions relating thereto as have come within my reach, which will show how strict they were, in that early day, to adhere to their promises, which I have ever found them strict observers of, during my long and intimate acquaintance with them.

Although there were a number of tribes represented at that treaty, still, I feel justified in bringing it into this work as a part of the History of the Shawnees, as much so, indeed, as if they were the only tribe concerned in the treaty.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE year 1681, Wm. Penn wrote to a particular friend in England, as follows:

"*For* my country, (Pennsylvania,) I eyed the Lord in obtaining it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it more to his hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it, and desire to keep it, that I may not be unworthy of his blessing; but do that which may answer his kind Providence, and serve his truth and people, that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though not here, for such a holy experiment."

In connection with my present subject, and to show how it is that even a people who are denominated "savages," may be overcome with good, so as to do good themselves to others with whom they have intercourse.

Among certain conditions or concessions agreed upon by Wm. Penn, proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers, I find the following:

"Inasmuch as it is usual with the planters to overreach the poor natives of the country in trade, by goods not being good of the kind, or debased with mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed that, whatever is sold to the Indians, in consideration of their furs, be sold in the market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if bad, not to be sold for good, that the Indians may not be provoked nor abused.

"That no man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed a wrong against his fellow planter; and if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own judge upon the Indians, but he shall make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his lieutenant or deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care, with the king of the said Indians, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.

"That all differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters, and six natives; that so we may live friendly together, as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischiefs.

"That the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improving of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters may enjoy."

CHAPTER IV.

In the Autumn of the year 1681, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania. In one of these, was Wm. Markham, a relative of Wm. Penn, and whom he had appointed his deputy governor, intending him for his secretary when he himself should arrive in the colony. Several commissioners who were appointed for the purpose of conferring with the Indians, respecting the sale of their lands, and to make with them a league of peace, accompanied Wm. Markham. They were strongly enjoined to treat the natives with all possible humanity, justice, and candor, and were intrusted by William Penn with the following letter to the Indians, which deserves the careful perusal of the reader, as it is remarkably adapted to the comprehension of uncultivated minds, and is characterised by much plainness, simplicity, and kindness.

"*London, 18th of 8th Mo.*, 1681.

"My Friends:—There is a great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people, owe their living and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in this world. This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country where I live hath been pleased to give me a great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with *your love and consent*, that we may always live together as brothers and friends, else, what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly in the world. Now, I would have you well observe that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you, which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused your grudging and animosity, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which has made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard for you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall, in all things, behave themselves accordingly; and if in anything any shall offend you, or your people, you shall have a speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just cause of being against them.

"I shall shortly come to you myself, at which time we may more fully confer together and discourse of this matter: in the meantime I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and to form with you a firm league of peace; let me desire you to be kind to them and their people, and to receive these *presents* and *tokens* which I have sent you as a token of my *good* will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

"I am your loving friend,

"William Penn."

CHAPTER V.

ON THE first of the seventh month, 1682, (old style,) William Penn landed at Newcastle and took legal possession of the country, soon after which he proceeded to Upland, (now Chester,) where he called an assembly, which lasted three days, at which all the laws agreed upon in England, with the addition of nineteen others, were passed in due form, making in all fifty-nine—the fiftieth of which provided against selling or exchanging of rum, brandy, or strong liquor of any kind to the Indians.

Penn being now at Coaquannuck, (the Indian name for the spot on which Philadelphia now stands,) the time had arrived when, by mutual understanding by the Indians and himself, he was personally to confirm a treaty of peace with them, and settle for the purchase of land. This treaty was that great and memorable one in which a firm league of peace was reciprocally concluded between them, and which has won the admiration of all unprejudiced and thinking minds as being a transaction consonant with humanity, and an expansive benevolence, and in unison, also, with the principles of justice and sound policy, and alike worthy the Christian and statesman. The

Indian tribes that met William Penn at this famous treaty are generally supposed to be the river Indians.

A writer observes of this treaty, that the authentic accounts which are known to exist of most of the particulars respecting it, are, he regrets to say, but of a limited kind, of which the following speech of Governor Gordon to the Indians, at a treaty held at Connestoga in 1728, with several nations of them who then resided in the Susquehanna, is the most important.

"My Brothers:—You have been faithful to your leagues with us. Your leagues with William Penn and his governors are in writing on record, that our children and our children's children may have them in lasting remembrance, and we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they, again, to the next generation, so that they may remain strong on your minds, never to be forgotten. The chief head, or strongest links of this chain, I find in these nine, to wit:

"1. That all William Penn's people, or Christians, and all the Indians should be brethren, as the children of one father, joined together as one heart, one head, and one body.

"2. That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

"3. That the doors of the Christians' houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians should be open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

"4. That the Christians should not believe any false rumors of the Indians, nor the Indians should not believe any false rumors of the Christians, but should come first, as brethren, to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they hear any such false rumors of their brethren, should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

"5. That if the Christians hear any ill news of the Indians, that may be of hurt to them, or the Indians hear any such news of the Christians, that may be to their injury, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

"6. That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their creatures; nor the Christians do any harm to the Indians; but each to treat the other as brethren.

"7. But as there are wicked people in all nations—if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint of it should be made by the person suffering, that justice might be done, and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

"8. That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians should assist the Indians against all wicked people that would injure them.

"9. And, lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be kept *strong*, and made stronger and stronger, and kept bright and clean, without rust or spot, between their children and our children's children, while creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

The nine articles thus recited by Governor Gordon, are, (he observes,) only the chief heads of this transaction; what other particulars there may be, to which he has made no reference, is now entirely a matter of conjecture, and it is much to be regretted that he did not give the whole account. The writing on record, to which he alludes, was, no doubt, the roll of parchment containing the great treaty of 1682, which was shown by the Mingoes and Shawnees, and other tribes, to Governor Keith, at a conference in the year 1722. Notwithstanding these testimonies to the existence of a written agreement having been entered into on the occasion, it is said that some modern writers have, nevertheless, doubted the fact, but whether in ignorance of the facts or not, we cannot say. That a written agreement, however, did about this time take place between William Penn and the Indians, appears to be further confirmed by an allusion an Indian chief made to it at a treaty held at Philadelphia, in the year 1742, when, addressing the Delawares, who were then present, he said:- "We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors above fifty years ago, for this very land."

At another time, during the same treaty of 1742, the same chief, on again referring to the same circumstance, said: "Their ancestors had sold it, by a deed under their hands and seals, to the proprietary, for a valuable consideration, upward of fifty years ago."

Governor Gordon, in his history of Pennsylvania, says, that a copy of the conference held at the making of this treaty was once in the office of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: since, R. Cunningham assures us that he discovered an envelop in a bundle of papers there, relating to the Shawnee Indians, with the following indorsement: "Minutes of the Indian Conference, in relation to the great treaty with William Penn at the big tree, Shackamaxon, 4th of tenth month, 1682." In order to obtain more particular information on this subject, Cunningham was written to respecting it, who returned the following answer: "The indorsement on the envelop, which you found on page 603 of Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, is a faithful copy of the original, I believe, at Harrisburgh. I made some inquiry as to the circumstances of its being thus found in the closet, and received the following information, to wit: Some years since, the Indian treaties were transcribed in a book for their better preservation, and the envelop of one of them was carefully folded up and placed in the closet with the historical papers. The Indian treaty said to have been contained in the envelop, is dated June 15th, 1682, and was the result of a conference held under the elm tree at Shackamaxon, between William Markham, (the Commissioner of William Penn,) John Bezar, and Nathan Allen, and the Shackamaxon tribes of Indians. The treaty was in the open air, but signed in Captain Lasse Cocke's house, fronting the Delaware river, in Shackamaxon. The land granted was to begin at a white oak, on the ground in the tenure of John Woods, called, by him, Gray Stone. The minutes of the conference in June, and also of those of the conference in December, 1682, are not to be found."

Most of the scattered particulars respecting this treaty with which we are acquainted, having been collected by Thomas Chalkley, (an approved minister in the Society of Friends who lived soon after Penn,) I shall give them as they are recorded in his biography of William Penn. They are as follows, to wit:

"The time now arrived when he was to confirm his treaty with the Indians. His religious principles, which led him to the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the king's patent or legal permission, according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country without purchasing it by fair and open bargains with the natives, to whom it properly belonged. He had, therefore, instructed the commissioners who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the Indians, and to make with them, at the same time, a treaty of perpetual friendship. This the commissioners had done, and this was the time when, by mutual agreement between him and the Indian chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified.

"He proceeded, therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons, of both sexes, to Coaquannuck, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the chiefs and their people there assembled. They were seen in the woods, as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful, both on account of numbers and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapons, so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the justice of their cause.

"It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no history can I find an account of this, though so many make mention of it, and though all concur in considering it the most glorious in the annals of the world.

"There are, however, relations in Indian speeches and traditions in Quaker families, descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something about it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannuck, the treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxen. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown, scepter, mace, sword, halberd, nor any insignia of office. He was distinguished only by wearing a sky-blue sash around his waist, which was of silk net-work, and which was of no longer apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it in color. (This sash, a few years since, was in possession of Thomas Kell, of Norwich.) On his right was Col. Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left, Friend Pearson; after, followed a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandise, which, when they came near the Sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the confirmation of the treaty of purchase and amity in his hand. One of the Sachems, who was the chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive eastern nations, and according to Scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power, and whenever the chief who had a right to wear it put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves around the chiefs, in the form of a half moon, upon the ground. The chief Sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the nation was ready to hear him.

"Having been thus called upon, he began: 'The great God,' said he, 'who made him and them, who ruled in heaven and earth, and who knew the inmost thoughts of men, knew that him and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow creatures, for which reason they came unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love.' After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and, by means of the same interpreter, conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of the purchase, and the words of the compact then made for their perpetual union. Among other things, even in the territory they had alienated, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits—for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein, relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians.

"He then paid them for their land, and made them many presents, beside, from the merchandise which had been spread before them. Having done this, he spread the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again that the ground should be common to both people. He added that he would not do as the Marylanders did—that is, call them children, or brothers only, for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ—neither would he compare the friendship between them to a chain, for the rain might rust it, or a tree might fall and break it, but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn and chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he remained with them to repeat it.

"That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting subject than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced," continues Thos. Chalkley, "may be relied upon, but I am not warranted in giving further. It is also to be regretted that the speeches of the chiefs on this memorable day, have not come down to us. It is only known that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manners, to live in love with Wm. Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure."

Thus ended this famous treaty, of which more has been said in the way of praise than of any other ever submitted to posterity. "This," says Voltaire, "was the only treaty between these people and the Christians, that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken." "Penn thought it right," says Abbe Raynol, "to obtain an additional right, by a fair and open purchase from the Aborigines, and thus to signalize his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved. Here it is, that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror which the whole of it, but particularly that part of the European settlements in America inspires."

Noble, in his continuation of Granger, says: "Penn occupied his domain by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This act does him infinite honor, as no blood was shed, and the Christians and barbarians met as brothers. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and property of the most ignorant Nations."

"Being now returned," says Robert Proud, in his history of Pennsylvania, "from Maryland to Coaquannock, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness. It was at this time, when he first entered into that personal friendship with them, which ever afterward continued between them, and which, for the space of more than seventy years, was never interrupted, or so long as the Quakers retained power in Pennsylvania.

"His conduct, in general, to these people, was in engaging his justice in particular so conspicuous; and the counsel and advice he gave them were so evidently for their advantage that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impression on their minds that his name and memory will scarcely be effaced while they continue a people."

The great elm tree, under which the treaty of 1682 was held, became celebrated from that day. When, in the revolutionary war, the British General, Simcoe, was quartered at Kensington, he so respected it that when his soldiers were cutting down every other tree for firewood, he placed a sentinel under it, with orders to see that not a branch of it should be injured. In the year 1811 it was blown down by a storm, when the branches were split into wood, and cups and other articles were made, to be kept as memorials of the celebrated elm tree.

It may not be out of place here, to mention a little the treatment the emigrants to the colonies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania received at the hands of the natives, which may well shew that they are a remarkably kind-hearted people, when they are treated as Penn and his friends used this people. The succeeding chapter will be interesting on that account.

CHAPTER VI.

About the year 1675 the territory of New Jersey came, by purchase, from Lord Berkley, into the hands of John Fenwick, (a member of the Society of Friends,) in trust, for Edward Billinge and his assignees, in consequence of which, in this year, John Fenwick, in company with a number of other Friends from London, landed at a place on the Delaware, which he named Salem; and, on their arrival, settled a religious meeting there. A dispute had arisen between Fenwick and Edward Billinge, but was at last composed by the interference of William Penn, to whom, with Gowan Lowrie, of London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Westford, the management of the province was committed, as trustees for Edward Billinge; and from this circumstance William Penn became one of the chief instruments in settling the colony of New Jersey.

Although the land having been purchased gave Friends a legal right to the soil, in the commonly understood sense of the term, it nevertheless did not, in their estimation, fully entitle them to it, without a further purchase was made from its original owners and inhabitants, whom they regarded as the alone rightful owners and proprietors of the land; recognizing then this principle, we find William Penn and his colleagues, in their instructions for the government of the province, in the year 1676, recommending that the commissioners should immediately agree with the Indians for land.

The first treaty of this kind with the natives, took place in the succeeding year, when the second ship arrived at the colony, bringing about two hundred and thirty persons, most of whom were Friends from Yorkshire and London, who landed about Racoon Creek, on the Delaware River. Soon after which, eight persons, commissioners for the purpose, proceeded further up the river, to the place where Burlington now stands, and treated with the Indians, and entered on the regulations of their settlement, and made several purchases of land from them; but not having, at the time, goods sufficient to pay for all they bought, a further agreement was made with them not to settle on any part until it was paid for. The number of Friends who emigrated to West Jersey during the years 1676, 1677, and 1678, is stated to be about eight hundred, and these mostly persons of property. Thomas Clarkson, in his life of Penn, says, that "up to the year 1681 he had sent to it about fourteen hundred people."

These early settlers in this province, coming, as they did, to a country, for the most part in an uncultivated state, endured many hardships before they could bring the land into a state sufficiently productive for their support, and many of them arriving in the latter end of the year, they had only time to erect a cabin, or a kind of wigwam, for their accommodation during the approaching winter. In this needful time the untutored Indians proved themselves real benefactors to the Friends, and gave evidence that their hearts were imbued with generous and humane feelings, by liberally supplying these new occupants of their country, in a time of difficulty and distress, with corn and venison, which was their principal food, and by freely bringing Indian corn, peas, beans, fish, and fowls for sale.

CHAPTER VII.

IN THE early part of 1701 we find William Penn had again left Pennsylvania for Philadelphia, where he met Con-noo-daugh-tah, king of the Susquehanna Indians, Wa-pa-tha, king of the Shawnees, and Woe-when-jaugh, chief of the Gan-aw-eese, inhabitanting about the head of Potomac River, and Ahoo-kas-saugh, brother of the emperor of the five nations, with about forty Indians in their retinue, who came to renew, by one general treaty for the whole, the good understanding which had subsisted between him and them. On this occasion he received them in council, and many friendly speeches passed between them; and it was then and there agreed, that there should be forever after, a firm and lasting peace between Wm. Penn and his heirs, and the said kings, and their chiefs, and their successors, in behalf of their respective tribes; and the following articles of agreement were solemnly ratified, and the instrument for the same duly agreed upon by both parties.

Articles of agreement indented, made, concluded, and agreed upon, this 23d day of 2d month, called April, 1701, between William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging, on the one part, and Con-noo-daugh-tah, king of the Indians inhabiting upon and about the river Susquehanna, in the said province, and We-do-ah (alias Aret-ta,) Ka-que-sah, and An-dog-gy Innok-quagh, chiefs of the said nations of Indians, and Wa-pa-tha, king of the Shawnees, and Lem-a-tung and Pemu-ju-ah, chiefs of that nation, and Ahoo-kas-saugh, brother to the emperor, for, and in behalf of the emperor; and We-when-jaugh, Che-quet-tah, Ta-gua-sou, and Woop-ra-shaw, chiefs of the nations of Indians inhabiting in and about the northern parts of the river Potomac, for, and in behalf of themselves and their successors, and their several nations, on the other part, as follows:

"1. As hitherto there hath always been a good understanding and neighborhood between the said William Penn and his lieutenants, since his first arrival in the said province, and the several nations of the Indians, inhabiting in and about the same; so there shall be forever hereafter a firm and lasting peace continued between Wm. Penn, his heirs and successors, and all the English and other Christian inhabitants of the said province, and the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, and all the people of the several nations of Indians aforesaid, and that they shall forever hereafter be as one head and one heart, and live in peace, and true friendship, and unity, as one people.

"2. That the said kings and chiefs, (each for himself and his people engaging,) shall, at no time, hurt injure, or defraud, or suffer to be hurt, injured, or defrauded, by any of their Indians, any inhabitant or inhabitants of the said province, either in their persons, or estates; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer to be done or committed, by any of the subjects of England within the said province, any act of hostility or violence, wrong or injury, to, or against, any of the Indians, but shall, on both sides, at all times, readily do justice and perform all acts and offices of friendship and good will; to oblige each other to a lasting peace, as aforesaid.

"3. That all and every of the said kings and chiefs, and all and every particular of the nations under them, shall, at all times, behave themselves regularly and soberly, according to the laws of this government, while they live near or among the Christians, inhabitants thereof; and that the said Indians shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitants, they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the crown of England and the government of this province.

"4. That none of the Indians shall, at any time, be aiding, assisting, or abetting any other nation, whether Indians or others, that shall not, at such times, be at peace and amity with the crown of England, and with this government.

"5. That if, at any time, any of the said Indians, by means of evil-minded persons and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, as if they had evil designs against any of the said Indians, in such cases such Indians shall send notice thereof to the said Wm. Penn, his heirs or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports, till, by that means, they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants, shall, at all times, and in all such cases, do the like by them.

"6. That the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, shall not suffer any strong nation of Indians to settle, or plant, on the other side of the Susquehanna river, or about the Potomac river, but such as are already seated there; nor bring any other Indians into any part of this province without the special approbation and permission of the said Wm. Penn, his heirs, or successors.

"7. That, for the preventing of abuses that are too frequently put upon the said Indians in trade, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer any person to trade or converse with any of the said Indians but such as be first allowed and approved, by an instrument of writing, under the hand and seal of him, the said William Penn, or his heirs, or successors, or their lieutenants, and that the said Indians shall suffer no person whatever to buy or sell, or to have commerce with any of them, the said Indians, but such as first be approved by the governor, as aforesaid.

"8. That the said Indians shall not sell or dispose of any of their skins, peltry, or furs, or any other effects of their hunting, to any person or persons whatever, out of the said province of Pennsylvania, nor to any other person but such as shall be authorized to trade with them as aforesaid. And that, for the encouragement of the Indians, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall take care to have them, the said Indians, duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods for their use, at reasonable rates.

"9. That the Potomac Indians aforesaid, with their colony, shall have free leave of the said William Penn to settle on any part of Potomac river, within this province—they strictly observing and practicing all and singular, the aforesaid to them relating.

"10. The Indians of Conestoga, upon and about the Susquehanna river, and now, especially, the said Con-noo-daugh-tah, their king, doth fully agree to, and, by these presents, absolutely ratify, the bargain and sale of lands lying near and about the said river, formerly made to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, by a deed, bearing date the 13th day of September last, under their hands and seals duly executed. And the said Con-noo-daugh-tah doth, for himself and his nation, covenant and agree that he will, at all times, be ready further to confirm and make good the sale of said land, according to the terms of the same; and that the said Indians of Susquehanna shall answer to the said William Penn and his successors for the good behavior and conduct of the said Potomac Indians, and for their performing the several articles herein expressed.

"11. The said William Penn doth hereby promise for himself, his heirs and successors, that he and they will, at all times, show themselves as brothers to all and every of said Indians, by assisting them, by and with the best of their advice, directions, and counsel, and will, in all things just and reasonable, befriend them—they behaving themselves as aforesaid, and submitting themselves to the laws of this province in all things, as the English and all others do; to which they, the said Indians, truly agree and oblige themselves and their posterity forever.

"In witness whereunto, the said parties have, as a confirmation, made mutual presents to each other: the Indians, in five parcels of skins, and the said William Penn, in several parcels of English goods and merchandise, as a binding pledge of the promises never to be broken or violated; and as a testimony thereof, have, also, to these presents, set their hands and seals, the day and year above written."

William Penn's return to England the second time, being determined on, and information of it having reached the Indians, a number of them, among whom were the chiefs of the Susquehanna tribes, in the eighth month of 1706, came to Philadelphia to take leave of him as their great benefactor. These Indians came at a time when the assembly was in session. He received them in council. This farewell meeting is said to have been a very interesting one; but few particulars, however, of this interview have been transmitted to us. The following brief account being all that has come to my knowledge, in relation to it, viz: "William Penn told them that the assembly was then making a law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused, by the selling of rum among them; that he requested of them to unite all their endeavors, and their utmost exertions, in conjunction with those of the government, to put the said law in execution."

At the same he told them that now this was like to be the last time he should hold an interview with them, at least before leaving; that he had always loved and been kind to them, and even should continue so to be—not through any political design, or on account of self-interest, but from a most real affection; and he desired them to cultivate friendly relations with those he should leave behind in authority, as they would always, in some degree, continue so to be to them as himself had ever been; lastly, that he had charged the members of his council, and he then, also, renewed the same charge, that they should, in all respects, be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good will, as himself had ever done. Here the said members promised faithfully to observe the charge; presents were then made to the Indians, and they withdrew.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE next account I find of the Shawnees is in 1706, when Thomas Chalkley, an acknowledged minister in the Society of Friends, was extensively engaged in traveling in the American colonies, among the Indians as well as the whites, he says: "We got an interpreter and traveled through the woods, about sixty miles, among the Indians at Conestoga, near the Susquehanna, carrying our provisions with us, and, on the journey, sat down by a river, and spread our food on the grass, and refreshed ourselves and our horses, and then went on cheerfully, and with great good will and much love for the poor Indians; and when we arrived they received us kindly, treating us civilly in their way. On informing them of our views in this visit to them, they called a council, in which they were grave, and spoke one after another, without any heat or jarring. In this council was a woman, who took a part in the deliberations of this council as well as upon all important occasions. On the interpreter being questioned why they permitted a woman to take so responsible a part in their councils, he replied, that some women were wiser than some men, and that they had not done anything for many years without the council of this ancient, grave woman, who spoke much in this council. This ancient, grave woman, who was the empress of the tribe, said, (records Thos. Chalkley,) that she looked upon our coming to be more than natural, because we did not come to buy or sell, or to get gain, but come in love and respect to them, and desired their well-being, both here and hereafter; and further desired, that our meeting among them might be very beneficial to their young people. And she advised them to hear us and to entertain us kindly; and accordingly they did. There were two nations of them, the Senecas and Shawnees. We had first a meeting with the Senecas, with which they were much affected; and they called the other nation, (the Shawnees,) and interpreted to them what we said to them in their meeting; and the poor Indians, (and, in particular, some of the young men and women,) were under a solid exercise and concern of mind.

"The advantages which, even in a temporal point of view, resulted to the early settlers in Pennsylvania, by adopting a course of conduct, so peaceable in its nature, were not only of great benefit to the natives themselves, but to the inhabitants of this infant colony, and formed a striking contrast to the melancholy evils which followed as a consequence of a line of policy so adverse to the principles pursued in the settlement of the other colonies.

"Proceeding, as the early settlers to the other provinces did, to a country inhabited by a race of men, of apparently ferocious and savage habits of life, and whom they observed too frequently engaged in wars with each other, they began, as soon as they set foot on the soil, to exhibit a military appearance, by building forts, and fortifying their towns, and showing themselves in arms before they had received any kind of molestation or injury, but merely from a fear that such means of defense were needful. Such a formidable appearance, of course, produced, in the minds of the natives, strong suspicions."

Doctor Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut, has the following pertinent remarks in reference to this subject. He says: "As these infant settlements were filled and surrounded by numerous savages the people conceived themselves in danger when they lay down and when they rose up—when they went out and when they came in. Their circumstances were such that it was judged necessary for every man to be a soldier. The consequence was that, when they began to make a military appearance, several of them were waylaid and killed. Thence followed greater warlike preparations on the one side, and greater suspicion on the other, till, at length, open war commenced between them, during which great excesses were committed by both parties.

"When war commenced between the Indians and the settlers of one of the provinces, the former would not unfrequently carry their ravages without discrimination into another, where the warlike demonstrations were similar. Thus, it appears, that when the Indians were provoked by the Virginians, during the time that Lord Baltimore was governor of Maryland, and who, it was said, conducted himself in the most unexceptionable manner toward the Indians, they, nevertheless, carried their devastations into Maryland as well as Virginia, whereas the adjacent province of Pennsylvania, where nothing of a warlike character existed, remained uninjured, being uniformly respected by the Indians; and, as the territory of William Penn, being held as almost sacred by the Indians."

"New England," says Bancroft, in his history of the United States, "had just terminated a disastrous war with the Algonquins. The laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres, which extended as far Richmond. Penn came without arms; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by the Indians."

CHAPTER IX.

At a council at Philadelphia, 14th June, 1715; present, the Honorable Gookin, *Lieutenant Governor;* Joseph Growden, Griffith Owen, Jas. Logan, Richard Will, Isaac Norris, Robert Ashton, *Commissioners.* The chiefs of the Delaware and Schuylkill Indians, in a visit to the governor, etc., met in the court-house at Philadelphia; Sas-sa-noon being their head, and Opes-sah, the late Shawnee king, with his companions attending him, and then opening the calumet, or pipe of peace, with great ceremony of their rattles and songs; it was presented by Sas-sa-noon, to the king, the governor and council, and to all others of the English, there met; afterward it was offered by him to all his Indians; and then, with the same ceremonies, put up again.

Then Sas-sa-noon arose and spoke to the governor, and said that the calumet, the bond of peace, which they had carried to all the nations around, they had now brought hither: that it was a sure bond and seal of peace among them and between them and us; and they desired, by holding up their hands, that the God of heaven might be witness to it, and that there might be a firm peace between them and us forever.

To which the governor replied; that he was very glad to see them retain so strong a sense of that firm peace which was settled between William Penn, the founder and chief governor of the country, at his first coming into it, in behalf of himself and all his people, with them and all theirs; that they were sensible we had always preserved it inviolate on our part, and were glad we had reason to say they had done the same on theirs. That we desired nothing more than that the Great God — who made heaven and earth and every living creature, and who knows the thoughts and sees all the actions of men—to whom they appealed, should be witness of what now passed between us, and this renewal of the same bond of peace might be recorded between them and us forever. With which speech they expressed themselves greatly satisfied. Sassanoon added, that hearing of the same measures among themselves, to prevent which they came to renew, forever, the bond of friendship that William Penn had at his first coming made a clear and open road all the way to the Indians; that they desired the same might be kept open, and all obstructions removed; of which, on their side, they will take care.

He then presented a belt of wampum, and added, to the same effect; that they desired the peace, which had been made, should be so firm that they should join hand in hand so firmly that nothing, even the greatest tree, should be able to divide them asunder.

After this, they seemed to wait for an answer—

were desired to proceed, and to deliver what they had now further to say, and that answers and returns for binding the friendship would be made to them altogether.

Sassanoon accordingly proceeded, and *said:* that their late king, Ska-ti-to-hi, desired of them that they would take care to keep a perfect friendship with the English and that they should be joined as one—that the Indians should be half-English, and that the English should be half-Indians, that they might the further be as one.

He further added, laying down a sword-belt, that as the fathers have been in peace, that they desired that the children still, as they should be born and come into the world hereafter, might be brought in the same union, and that it might be continued between their and our posterity, from generation to generation forever.

He added, that in the last council which they had with us, they spoke concerning the scene by whose influence they had lived in warmth and plenty from the beginning. That they now desired the same happiness might be continued to them with us in the firmest peace, and that it might last as long as the sun should endure—that when any clouds interposed between them and the sun, it brings coolness and is unpleasant; the same will be if any clouds shall arise between them and us—therefore, they desired that, if anything of that kind appeared, it may be dissipated without delay.

He laid down a third belt, and continued in the same strain, desiring, as before, that they might still enjoy the warmth of the sun and our friendship together; that then they should want no necessaries of life, but, enjoying all the comforts of life with their wives, might repose themselves in peace and safety without any disturbance whatever. This he delivered in behalf of the Indians on this side the Susquehanna, who were all concerned with him in this treaty. This was all he had to say on this subject.

He then began, laying down a bundle of deer skins, saying, that now they would discourse of matters of trade between them and us. Hitherto it had been like a house with two doors—one for them and one for the English — but the goods were placed in the dark, so that they where wholly ignorant how they had been dealt with, or how they should trade.

He repeated the same, laying down a second bundle of deer skins, and desired that they might be informed of the terms they might trade upon, that, if occasion might require, they might, at any time, send their goods and be out of danger of being cheated.

He added a third bundle of deer skins, complaining how hard it was upon them, for they knew not what they were to expect for their goods, and that they could scarcely purchase ours.

Laying down a fourth bundle — being skins and furs—he desired that we might be as a people eating of the same dish—so they might be dealt with as if they were our own people.

Presenting a fifth bundle, he said, that formerly they had exactly known the price, both of our goods and theirs, but now, they varied so much, there was no understanding them.

With a sixth bundle, he said, that, through this uncertainty, he wore such ragged breeches that he was ashamed to show them, and desired this inconvenience might be remedied.

Offering a seventh, he complained that they were often imposed upon by the might of our money when they came to sell; that we certainly knew the value of theirs, but they could not understand ours, and he, therefore, desired that this great inconvenience might be remedied.

He offered an eighth, informing that Opessah, formerly king of the Shawnees, but now abdicated, lived at a great distance and entertained them with victuals and provisions, when they went that way; therefore they desired that, when they came among us, he might be received, as one of themselves, with the same openness that they received from him.

Having ended their discourse, they were told that to-morrow, they should receive answers to all they had said; and were, for the present, dismissed.

CHAPTER X.

As I find a description of the territory, occupied by the several Indian nations, east of the Mississippi river, before its colonization by the Europeans, in a work, prepared with great care by a committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London, which gives much interesting information relative to the North American Indians, and from which I have quoted considerable already, I shall here insert the description entire.

"Seeing the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of the North American continent is wrapped in much obscurity, having nothing but modern conjecture on record respecting it; we deem it most advisable to be silent on a subject of so much uncertainty. Of their history, however, for the last two centuries, the amount of European travelers and settlers among them, furnish us with tolerably accurate information, more particularly with regard to those who dwelt on the land east of the river Mississippi. From these resources we have been able to gather, with tolerable precision, the locality occupied by several nations of them about two centuries ago, as they were distinguished, by language, one from another, which we have arranged under the following heads; for a further illustration of which we refer our readers to the maps accompanying this work. There does not appear to have been, in this part of North America, more than eight languages, of a decidedly distinct character; of which five at the present time constitute the speech of large communities, and these are known only as memorials of nearly extinct tribes.

"The primitive language, which was the most widely extended, and the most prolific in dialect, was that of the Adirondacks, to which the French gave the name of Algonquins, and by which it was more generally known. The same language was spoken from Cape Cansa, and the Bay of Gaspe to the banks of the Mississippi; from the Cumberland river in Kentucky, to Cape Fear, and, it is presumed, from the Susquehanna to the country of the Esquimaux.

"The Micmacs, who, probably, never exceeded three thousand in number, held possession of Nova Scotia and the adjacent islands, and, also, the east part of the continent, south of a small tribe, called, by geographers, Gaspesians, that dwelt around the Bay of Gaspe.

"The Etchemins, or Canoemen, inhabited on the rivers St. John and St. Croix, and extended considerably to the west. Next to these came the Abenakis, from whom descended the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Androscoggin tribes; another had its abode in Norridgewock.

"The tribes that disappeared from their ancient hunting-grounds in the east, did not always become extinct, as some of them are known to have migrated to the north and west. Many of the Sokokis, who appeared to have dwelt near the river Saco, and to have had an alliance with the Mohawks, at an early period abandoned the locality where they first became known to the Europeans, and placed themselves under the shelter of the French in Canada. But the Indians generally, instead of forming friendly alliances with their more civilized neighbors, were induced, through the vicious conduct of the latter, to shun the vicinity of their settlements. To this we may, perhaps, ascribe the migration of some of the native population. Thus, among the tribes of Texas, there are Indians who are said to trace their pedigree to the Algonquins bordering on the Atlantic; and it is known that descendants from New England Indians now inhabit some of the western prairies.

"The country beyond Saco, with New Hampshire, as far as Salem, was occupied by the Pennacook, or Pawtucket tribe. The Massachusetts Indians, even before the colonization of the country, had almost disappeared from the land of the bay that bears this name; and the native villages of the interior resembled insulated and nearly independent bands.

"The most civilized of the northern Indians were the Pokanokets, who dwelt in Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod; and the Narragansetts, who occupied Rhode Island, a part of Long Island, and the land between the bay that bears their name and the present limits of Connecticut; these, with the Pequods, the branch of the Mohegans that held the eastern part of Connecticut and a part of Long Island, were the earliest victims of European colonization in North America. In the territory between the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson, were independent villages of the Mohegans, kindred with the Manhattans, who once dwelt on New York Island.

"Of the Lenclenappes, or, as some modern writers have it, Lenni Lenape, there were two divisions, the Minsi and the Delawares; they possessed east and west Jersey, the valley of the Delaware, far up toward its sources, and the entire of the basin of the Schuylkill. These were the Indians who formed the main body of those with whom William Penn made his great and memorable treaty of 1682, at Shackamaxen, the spot on which Kensington, in the suburbs of Philadelphia, now stands.

"Beyond the Delaware, on the eastern shore, dwelt the Nanticokes, who disappeared or mingled imperceptibly with other tribes. The name of Pamlico denotes that Algonquin tribes extended along the sea-coast, as far south as Cape Hatteras. It is conjectured, also, that the Corees, who dwelt to the southward of the Neuse river, spoke a similar language; thus establishing Cape Fear as the southern boundary of the Algonquins.

"In Virginia, the same language was spoken throughout the dominion of Powhatan, which included the tribes from the eastern shore and all the villages west of the Chesapeake, from the southernmost branch of James river to the Pautuxent.

"The basin of the Cumberland river is marked, by the earliest geographers, as the locality of the Shawnees, who connected the southeastern Algonquins with the western. A portion afterward lived in the neighborhood of Winchester. Their principal band removed from their hunting-grounds in Kentucky to the head-waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina; and, at a later day, four hundred and fifty of them, who had been wandering in the woods for four years, were found a little north of the head-waters of the Mobile river, on their way to the country of the Muskogees. About the year 1698, nearly seventy of their families, with the consent of the government of Pennsylvania, removed from Carolina and settled on the Susquehanna; these were soon followed by others of the same tribe; and the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania, in 1732, was estimated to be seven hundred, one-half of whom were Shawnees from the south. Cadwallader Colden, in 1745, said the Shawnees were the 'most restless of all the Indians,' and that 'one tribe of them had quite gone down to New Spain.'

"Of the ancient territory of the Miamis, their own traditions have preserved an account. 'My forefather,' said Little Turtle, the Miami chief at Greenville, 'kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen.'

The Ottawas, from the basin of the river that bears their name, wandered to the Saginaw bay, and took possession of the whole north of the peninsula.

The Illinois, who were kindred to the Miamis, had their country between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi.

The Pottawatomies, who were a branch of the great Chippewayan nation, and came from the islands about the entrance of Green Bay, in the early part of the eighteenth century, by encroaching upon the Miamis, settled at Chicago. The Chippewas inhabited the land from the mouth of Green Bay to the head-waters of Lake Superior. The Menomonies, a distinct Algonquin tribe, were found near Green Bay as early as 1669.

The Sacs and Foxes occupied the country southwest of the Menomonies, from Green Bay and Fox river to the Mississippi, and hunted over the land between the Wisconsin and upper branches of the Illinois. The Shawnees are said to have an affinity with this nation, and also the Kickapoos, who established themselves, by conquest, in the north of Illinois. So numerous were the Algonquin tribes, that it is supposed they constituted one-half of the native population, east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence.

II. Northwest of the Sacs and Foxes, west of the Chippewas, tribes of the Sioux, or Dacotah Indians, occupied the prairies east of the Mississippi, from the head-waters of Lake Superior to the falls of St. Anthony. The Winnebagoes, a little community of the Dacotahs, had penetrated into the territory of the Algonquins, and dwelt between Green Bay and Winnebago Lake.

III. The Huron-Iroquois, or Wyandots, on the discovery of America, were populous, and occupied an extensive territory. The peninsula between the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, was the dwelling-place of five confederate tribes of the Hurons, who afterward, by some unaccountable influence over other tribes and by making treaties, gradually acquired a claim to the whole country from the St. Lawrence to the western limits of New York.

The Huron tribes of the north were surrounded by the Algonquins. In the south, the rivers Chowan, Meherrin, and Nattoway derive their names from Wyandot villages; and in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras were the largest tribe, numbering, it is said, in 1708, no less than twelve hundred fighting men. We find this tribe thus alluded to in an epistle addressed by George Fox to some friend in Virginia in 1673: "If you go over again to Carolina, you may inquire of Captain Butts, the governor, with whom I left a paper to be read to the emperor, and his thirty kings under him, of the Tuscaroras."

IV. On the central lands of Carolina, south of the Tuscaroras, dwelt the Catawbas, with whom were included the Waccons. The Catawbas, in their most populous days, were not reckoned to be more than one thousand two hundred fighting men; an enumeration, made in the year 1743, gives but four hundred. This nation, therefore, on the arrival of the European settlers, appears not to have numbered more than three thousand.

V. The Cherokees, who were the mountaineers of America, occupied the upper valley of the Tennessee river, as far west as the Mussel Shoals, and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—considered to be the most picturesque and salubrious country east of the Mississippi. Their towns were generally by the sides of the creeks and rivers. The Tugeloo, Flint, and branches of the Tennessee were rivers that flowed through that country, to which they had an ardent attachment.

VI. Southeast of the Cherokees, were located the Uchees, who claimed the land above and below Augusta, and pride themselves on being the oldest occupants of that country. They now, however, form but a small section of the Creeks, and are known as a distinct family by their singularly harsh and guttural language.

VII. The whole country southeast, south, and west of the Cherokees to the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi and confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, with the exception of the Uchees and Natchez, was in the possession of one of the great family of nations, the language of which was called Mobilian. It included three large confederacies, each of which still exists, and it is thought, even with some increase of numbers. In the territory bounded by the Ohio on the north, the Mississippi at the west, and on the east by a line drawn from the bend in the Cumberland river to the Mussel Shoals of the Tennessee, and extending at the south, into the State of Mississippi, dwelt the Chickasaws.

Between the Mississippi and the Tombigbee, below the Chickasaws, was the country of the Choctaws: they lived in compact villages, on the eastern frontier, but, through the interior of their territory, were much scattered. Dwelling in plains, or among gentle hills, they excelled all other North American Indians in agricultural pursuits—subsisting chiefly on corn, and placing but little dependence on the chase. The number of their fighting men is supposed to have exceeded 4000.

The ridge, that divided the Tombigbee from the Alabama, was the line that separated the Choctaws from the tribes which formed the Muskogees, or Creeks. The territory included all Florida, and extended on the north to the Cherokees; on the southeast and east to the Savannahs, and to the Atlantic, along the sea; their northern limit seems to have extended almost to Cape Fear. Their population, although spread over a territory four-fold greater than that of the Choctaws, did not exceed them in number. Their towns were situated on the banks of the creeks, in which their country abounded; they followed agricultural pursuits industriously. The Yemassees, on the Savannah, it is thought, formed one of their bands; and the Seminoles of Florida are the "wild men" of this confederacy, but separated from them by choosing the wandering life of the hunter, rather than the more settled one of agriculture.

The whole number of aborigines dwelling east of the Mississippi, two hundred years ago, is computed not to have exceeded one hundred and eighty thousand: of these, the *Algonquin* family are recorded at ninety thousand; the eastern Sioux, less than three thousand; the Huron-Iroquois, including the Tuscaroras, about seventeen thousand; the Catabaws, three thousand; the Uchees, one thousand; the Natches, four thousand; the Cherokees, twelve thousand; and the Mobilian tribes, it appears, are now more numerous than they were ever known to be.

CHAPTER XI.

In the beginning of the year 1719, a disagreement, which happened about that time, between the southern Indians and the Pennsylvanians, of whom the Shawnees formed a part, and made northward, appeared to demand the attention of the government in order to prevent further ill consequences. Accordingly, in the year 1721, as the dispute still continued and seemed to increase between them, further endeavors and suitable means were used for that salutary purpose.

The governor, in the spring, made a journey into Virginia on this occasion, and, also, held a treaty at Conestoga, in Pennsylvania, with the Indians. After his return, on which occasion he advised them as follows: "My friends and brothers, it is a great satisfaction to me, that I have this opportunity of speaking to the valiant and wise Five Nations of Indians, whom you tell me you are fully empowered to represent.

"I am glad to find that you remember what Wm. Penn formerly said to you. He was a great and a good man; his own people loved him. He was as their father; he would never suffer them to be wronged; neither would he suffer his people to enter upon any lands until he had first purchased them of the Indians. He was just, and, therefore, the Indians loved him.

"Though he is now removed from us, yet his children and people, following his example, will always teach the same course; so that his and our posterity will be as a long chain, of which he was the first link; where our link ends, another begins, and thus another—binding all firmly together, in one strong chain, to endure forever.

"He formerly knit the chain of friendship with you or the chiefs of all the Indians in these parts; and lest this chain should grow rusty, you now desire it may be scoured and made strong, to bind us as one people together. We do assure you, it is, and has always been bright on our side, and so will we ever keep it.

"Nevertheless, if any little disorder should, at any time hereafter arise, we will endeavor that it shall not break or weaken the chain of friendship between us; to which end, if any of your people take offense, you must, in that case, apply to me or to our chief; and when we have any cause to complain, we shall, as you desire, apply to your chiefs, by our friends, the Conestoga Indians; but on both sides, we must labor to prevent everything of this kind as much as we can.

"I am aware that rum is very hurtful to the Indians, consequently we have made laws that none should be carried among them, or, if any should be, that it should be destroyed and thrown upon the ground; and the Indians have been directed to destroy all the rum that comes within their way; but they will not do it, but sell it among their own people, at high prices. I would gladly make any laws to prevent its use, that could be effectual; but their country is so wide, the woods are so dark and private, and so far out of my sight, that if the Indians do not prohibit their people, there is no other way to prevent it; for my part, I shall readily join in any measures that can be proposed for so good a purpose.

"I have now, my friends and brothers, said all that can be of any service at this time; and I give you these things here laid before you, to confirm my words, viz: five coats, twenty pounds of powder, forty pounds of lead, for each of the Five Nations: that is, twenty coats, one hundred pounds of powder, and two hundred pounds of lead, in the whole, which I desire delivered to them, with these words, in my manner, and on behalf of this province.

"I shall be glad to see, often, some of your chief men sent in the name of all the rest; and desire that you will come to Philadelphia to visit our families and our children born there, where we can provide better for you and make you more welcome—for people always receive their friends best at their own houses. I heartily wish you well on your journey, and good success in it; and, when you return home, I desire you will give my very kind love, and the love of all my people, to your kings and to all your people."

CHAPTER XII.

In the spring of the year 1722, an Indian was barbarously killed within the limits of Pennsylvania, somewhere above Conestoga. The murder was supposed to have been perpetrated by one or two persons, by the name of Cartenright. The governor having commissioned James Logan to inquire into the affair; after his return, at the request of the Assembly, he laid his report of it before them. The House, in their address to the governor thereon, expressed their utmost concern on this affair; they gratefully acknowledged, and highly commended the governor's present conduct and steadfast administration of justice; but more especially at that time, on an occasion of the greatest importance to the peace and safety of the government, by his empowering two gentlemen of his council, so able and prudent, on the present occasion, whose wise conduct, said they, is very conspicuous, from their report laid before the House by the governor; that, at the relation of this dismal circumstance, they were filled with horror and surprise, that, after so long a continuance of the peace first settled by the honorable proprietary, William Penn, with the Indians, any breach should be made by those under the name of Christians, to the reproach of that name and danger of the safety and peace both of this province and others.

They earnestly requested the governor to persist in his exertions to bring the aggressors to condign punishment with all possible speed, lest, by delay of justice, the Indians should be induced to withdraw their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain and affection from the government, and be provoked to do themselves justice in a manner that might be of dangerous consequences; that he would advise with his council in making treaties with them, for, said they, as they are some of the principal inhabitants of this government, we have no reason to doubt it will be concerned for the good of the same.

They further pressed the maintaining of the "League" of friendship made by their worthy proprietary as a thing of the greatest consequence that could possibly come before them; and, therefore, they unanimously recommended the execution of strict justice, as the best and most effectual means for that end; the want of which, in the apprehension of that vindictive people, had produced sad and fatal consequences to those provinces; they likewise proposed to the governor's consideration some particulars to be immediately done in this affair, and mentioned the repeated request of the Indians, that strong liquor should not be sold or carried among them, with the petition of sundry inhabitants of the provinces to the same import, which the laws, hitherto made in that case, had not been able to prevent; they, therefore, requested advice and assistance of the governor and council therein.

The governor thanked them for the great satisfaction they expressed with his conduct and administration; and declared that he had carefully endeavored to follow the late honorable proprietary's steps in such affairs; to keep the nation always in a lively and perfect remembrance of his love to them, and to build all their treaties of peace with them upon the same principles and maxims of good policy which he used and maintained when he was here himself. He likewise assured the house that he had, at that time, all the probability, that the nature of the case would admit of, for settling matters again with the Indian nations upon that just, firm, and friendly foundation, which the house so earnestly desired and recommended to him. He acknowledged the inefficiency of the laws in restraining the people from carrying rum and selling it among the Indians, thereby debauching and cheating them, which, he said, he had complained of to previous Assemblies.

Great pains were taken in the affair; an Indian messenger, Sachecho, was dispatched to the Five Nations; the suspected persons were committed to prison, and the governor, with two of the council, met and treated with the Five Nations at Albany respecting it; beside the presents which were made to the Indians, the Five Nations desired that the Cartenrights should not suffer death, and the affair at length was entirely settled.

At a treaty held with the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in July 1742, Governor Thomas's administration, Canassatego, chief of the Onondagas, said: "We are all very sensible of the kind regards which that good man, William Penn, had for all the Indians."

At this treaty, these Indians there expressed themselves respecting James Logan, which further shows the sense and gratitude of the people, when they are well treated. Canassatego then spoke to the governor and council: "Brethren, we called at our old friend's, James Logan, on our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him hid in the bushes and retired, through infirmities, from public business. We pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist us once more on our account at your council. We hope, notwithstanding his age and effect of sickness, which, we understand, have hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist this province with his counsel. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians; and we desire, when his soul goes to God, you may choose, in his room, just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling, and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians. In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and, because he was so good as to leave his country house and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this, his advanced age, to attend this council, we present him with a bundle of skins in token of our love."

After the governor had concluded, James Logan replied to that part of Canassatego's speech which related to him, and said: "that not only our account of his lameness, of which the Indians themselves were witnesses, but on account of another indisposition which, about three years since, had laid him under an incapacity of expressing himself with his former usual freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in the country. But that our proprietor, the Honorable William Penn, who had ever been a faithful and sincere friend to the Indians, having, about forty years since, recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination, as well as by that strict charge, endeavored to convince all the Indians that he was their real friend; and was now well pleased, after a trial of so many years, that they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their presents, and heartily joined with them in their desires, that the governor may always be furnished with persons of equally good intentions; and, not only such, but also with better abilities to serve them."

About seven years subsequently, viz: 1749, a council was held during the administration of James Hamilton, with the Seneca and other Indians, in Philadelphia; on which occasion Ogassatash, in part of his speech, thus expressed himself:

"We recommend to the governor to tread in the footsteps of those wise men who have held the reins of government before him, in being good and kind to the Indians. *Do, brother,*" said he, "make it your study to consult the interest of our Indian nations, as you have so large an authority. You can do as much good as harm; we would, therefore, engage your influence and affections for us that the same harmony and affection for us may subsist during your government, which happily subsisted in former times, from the first settlement of the province, by our great and good friend, William Penn."

So long as a kind and conciliatory treatment continued to be observed between the Indians in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the friendship which existed between them and the settlers was but little, if at all interrupted. For more than seventy years we hear of no interruption of the *cordial* understanding between the parties; but when a different line of conduct was introduced into the government of the States, symptoms of discord and mutiny quickly made their appearance.

James Logan, who held the office of secretary to the governor, and principal agent or commissioner of land affairs, for nearly forty years, by his upright and judicious management, contributed powerfully to the preservation of the friendship and alliance of the Indians. Upon his death, in the year 1751, the management of Indian affairs passed into other hands, by whom a very different line of policy was pursued toward them. About this time, also, a strong current of prejudice set in against the peaceable manner with which the affairs of the province had been managed by the *Friends*; and endeavors were used to prevent them, as much as possible, from their being returned as representatives of the

Assembly. This was so far unsuccessful that, in 1756, not more than twelve out of the thirty-six who composed that body, were members of the Society of Friends.

The effect of this altered state of things was very soon to bring about an open rupture between the Indians and the government, which was attended with the most calamitous results, in which ravages of a frightful description were committed by the irritated Indians, who were greatly incensed on account of the abuses they suffered, with reprisals on the part of the whites, scarcely less barbarous in their character. The cause alleged for this outbreak by the natives, in the various conferences held with them, between the years 1755 and 1763, are thus described:

1. The abuses committed in the Indian trade, which had been more or less of long continuance, and very difficult to be properly regulated or redressed, though, doubtless, a great part of them might have been better guarded against and prevented than they really were.

2. Their being, as they insisted in the latter years, unjustly deprived or dispossessed of part of their lands.

3. The death of Wakahela, the Delaware chief, who was hung in New Jersey, many years ago, which they could not forget, and say it was only for accidentally killing a man.

4. The imprisonment of some Shawnee warriors in North Carolina, in time of peace, when the chief man of the party died.

5. The instigations of the French, who made artful use of their complaints, disorders, discontents, etc., to unite them against the English in the late war.

CHAPTER XIII.

It is no easy matter to trace the history of the Shawnees from the year 1761 to that of 1786, and still more difficult to point out their place of residence during that period. It seems pretty certain that they were of the Adirondacks, or Algonquins; which nation appears to have been the owners of the whole country from Cape Causa and the Bay of Gaspe to the branches of the Mississippi, from the Cumberland river, in Kentucky, and Cape Fear; and the presumption is, from the Savannah river to the country of the Esquimaux. This fact of their being all of the same great nation is very justly inferred from the circumstance of their speaking the same language throughout this vast extent of territory.

It will be seen that, in the year 1682, when William Penn made his celebrated treaty with the Indians in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, the Shawnees were a party to the treaty in common with other tribes who composed the great nation of Algonquins, and they must have been considered a very prominent band, from the fact of their having preserved the treaty in their own possession or keeping, as we are informed that, at a treaty held with them and the Mingoes, another branch of the Algonquins, by the governor of Pennsylvania, the Shawnees produced this treaty on parchment to the governor; this treaty was many years after the treaty of 1682. It is the custom with the Indian tribes who make a joint treaty with the whites, to commit the preservation of the papers containing the treaty, etc., to such of the bands as are considered most to be trusted.

From the most authentic information of the early geographers, it appears that the Basin of the Cumberland river was the residence of the Shawnees before the settlement of the Europeans on the continent, and that they connected the different sections of the great Algonquin families.

It appears also that, after the treaty of 1682, a part of them lived near Winchester, Virginia, but that the principal band removed from their hunting-ground in Kentucky, on the Cumberland river, to the head-waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina, perhaps the Congaree, which heads about the corner of South Carolina nearest to Kentucky; and at a later day (date not given) four hundred of them, who had wandered in the woods for four years, were found a little north of the head-waters of the Mobile river, on their way to the country of the Muskogees, or Creeks. The most northern branch of the head-waters of the Mobile river is in the northeast corner of the State of Alabama, and is about one hundred and fifty miles from the most northern bend of the Tennessee river, and about one hundred miles, as shown on the maps, from the lines which divides Kentucky from Alabama, and about one hundred and fifty miles from the Cumberland river, about a south course from Nashville and nearly in the direction of the Muskogees, or Creeks, whose territory included the whole of Florida.

In the year 1684, Lasalle, a Frenchman, set out on a second expedition for the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, but before he had effected his object, he was murdered by the Indians. In the year 1694, a man by the name of M. Iberville set out on a voyage of the same kind. Bienville, one in command in the same expedition, on the 14th of August, found a basket in possession of some Indians, containing a paper upon which the names of many individuals belonging to Lasalle's expedition were written, and a letter addressed to M. D. Zanti, from which he learned that, having heard from Canada of his departure from France, he had descended to the sea with twenty Canadians and thirty Shawnee Indians from the river Wabash. This appears to have been on the first expedition of Lasalle, which was, of course, prior to the one above-mentioned, which was in the year 1684, but how long before we are not informed. Thus it seems, that previous to the year 1684, some of the Shawnees lived on the Wabash, but what became of the thirty Shawnees who accompanied Lasalle, we cannot tell. It is not ascertained from any account we have seen, where Lasalle landed after embarking at the time alluded to, but probably those thirty Shawnees got into Florida or Texas, soon after that time, and never returned to the Wabash country.

About the year 1678, seventy families of the Shawnees removed from South Carolina and settled on the Susquehanna river, in Pennsylvania; others of the same tribe soon followed, so that the number of fighting men of this tribe, who in the year 1732 had got back to Pennsylvania, amounted to seven hundred, half of whom were from the south.

This number of the Shawnee tribe, which included these seven hundred fighting men, it is presumed, only included that band which had gone to South Carolina; but as it is evident that these seven hundred men did not include all the Shawnees, we can account for the remainder by including another band, which is spoken of by Cadwallader Colden, who, after remarking, in 1745, that the Shawnees were the most restless of all the Indian tribes, says, that one tribe of them had gone to New Spain. This band of four hundred and fifty, who were found north of the head-waters of the Mobile river, probably never did return to Pennsylvania, as they were on their way to New Spain; and as regards that band who lived near Winchester, Virginia, it is uncertain where they went to from that place; but they probably went to the Alleghany, near Fort Duquesne, where Pittsburgh now stands, and afterward to Cape Girardeau, between the Whitewater and Mississippi rivers; but of this fact more will be said in its proper place.

Thus far the history of the Shawnees has been written without any account of their being engaged in wars; and how comfortable would be the task, to continue to follow them through the wilds of America, without having to trace their course through the bloody scenes through which they passed from the year 1755 until peace again lighted up their path, and we see them laying aside the cruel and destructive weapons of war for the implements of husbandry.

During the war between France and England, about the year 1755, the Shawnees, as well as the other tribes, complained much of ill treatment from the whites; the French making an artful use of their discontent to unite them against the English in the war between these two powers. It is probable that a part of the Shawnees joined the French in that war, a number of whom were in the expedition which went out to meet Gen. Braddock, by whom he was defeated on the Laurel Hills, and who were engaged for some time in a most disastrous and barbarous war against the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia. As these people never forgot an injury, and about that year, 1755, they complained that some of their warriors were imprisoned in North Carolina, in time of peace, when their chief man died in prison, and as this was to them a grievous act, after so long a time of peace, it is not to be expected, considering the nature of an Indian, anything short of restitution or revenge would ever satisfy them. From this it may be fairly inferred, then, that they joined the enemies of the colonies in this war; and, probably, that band who lived near Winchester now took part in that war.

CHAPTER XIV.

At confederated councils held near the mouth of the Detroit river, on the 28th of November and 18th of December, 1786; present, the Five Nations, the Hurons, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Twichtwees, Cherokees, and Wabash Indians, the following address was prepared and adopted by them, viz:

"*To the Congress of the United States*:—Brethren of the United States of America, it is now more than three years since peace was made between the king of England and you; but we, the Indians, were disappointed in not finding ourselves included in the peace, according to our expectations; for we thought that its conclusions would have promoted a friendship between you and the Indians, and that we might enjoy that happiness that formerly existed between us and our elder brethren. We have received too many agreeable messages from the thirteen United States. We have, also, received a message from the king, whose war we were engaged in, desiring us to remain quiet, which we accordingly complied with. During this time of tranquillity, we were deliberating on the best method to form a lasting reconciliation with the thirteen United States. We were pleased at the thought that we were entering, indeed, upon a reconciliation with a set of people born on the same continent with ourselves, and certain that the quarrel between us was not of our own making. In the course of our councils we imagined that we hit upon an expedient for a lasting peace between us.

"Brothers, we are still of the same opinion, as to the means which may tend to reconcile us to each other, and we are sorry to find, although we had the best thoughts in our hearts during the before-mentioned period, mischief has, nevertheless, happened between you and us. We are still anxious to find a place of accommodation, and to have it put into execution, and we shall briefly inform you of the means that seem most likely to us to effect a firm and lasting peace and reconciliation, the first step toward which should be with the general voice of the whole confederacy, and carried on in the most open manner, without restraint on either side; and as land matters are often the subject of our councils with you, a matter of the greatest importance and of general concern to us in this case, we hold it indispensably necessary that any cession of our land should be made in the most public manner, and by the united voice of the confederacy, holding all partial treaties as void and of none effect.

"Brothers, we think it is owing to you that the tranquillity, which, since the peace existed between us, has not lasted, and that essential good has been followed by mischief and confusion, having managed everything respecting us in your own way. You kindled your council-fires when you thought proper, without consulting us, at which you held separate treaties, and hence entirely neglected our plan of having a general conference with the different nations of the confederacy. Had this happened, we have reason to believe everything would have now been settled between us in a most friendly way. We did everything in our power, at the treaty held at Fort Stanwix, to induce you to follow this plan, as our real intentions were at that very time to promote peace and good-will between us, and that we might look upon each other as friends, having given you no cause to be otherwise.

"Brothers, notwithstanding the mischief that has happened, we are sincere in our wishes to have peace and tranquillity established between us, and earnestly hoping to find the same in you. We wish, therefore, you would take this matter into serious consideration and let us speak to you in the manner proposed. Let us have a treaty with you early in the spring; let us pursue reasonable steps; let us meet half way for our convenience, and we shall then bring into oblivion the misfortunes that have happened, and meet each other on a footing of friendship.

"Brothers, we say, let us meet half way, and let us pursue such steps as become upright and honest men. We beg that you will prevent your surveyors and other people from coming upon our side of the Ohio river. We have told you before, that we wished to pursue just steps, and we are determined they shall appear just and reasonable in the eyes of the world; that is the determination of all the chiefs now assembled here, notwithstanding the accidents that have happened in our village, even when in council, where several chiefs were killed while absolutely engaged in promoting a peace with you, the thirteen United States.

"Although thus interrupted, the chiefs here present wish to meet you in the spring for the before-mentioned good purpose, when we hope to speak to each other without haughtiness or menaces. Brothers, we again request of you, in the most earnest manner, to order your surveyors and others, that mark out lands, to cease from crossing the Ohio, until we shall have spoken to you, because the mischief that has recently happened, has originated in that quarter; we shall likewise prevent our people from going over, until that time.

"Brothers, it shall not be our fault if the plan, we have proposed to you, shall not be carried into effect; in that case, the event will be very disastrous, and if fresh ruptures ensue, we hope to be all able to clear ourselves, and shall most assuredly, with our united force, be obliged to defend those rights and privileges which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors, and if we should thereby be reduced to misfortune, the world will pity us when they think of the amicable proposals we now make to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood. These are our thoughts and firm resolutions, and we earnestly desire that you will transmit to us, as soon as possible, your answer, be it what it may.

"Done at our confederated council-fire at the Huron village, near the mouth of the Detroit river, Dec. 18th, 1786."

Signed: The Five Nations, Hurons, Ottawas, Twichtwees, Shawnees, Chippewas, Cherokees, Delawares, Pottawatomies.—*The Wabash Confederates.*

CHAPTER XV.

THE first treaty I find on record made between the United States and the Shawnees, separately as a nation, was held in the year 1786, which is contained in the "Congressional Documents," and is as follows:

"Article of agreement concluded at the mouth of the Great Miami, on the north-west bank of the Ohio, 31st of January, 1786, between the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one part, and the Shawnees, native Indians, of the other part.

"ART. 1. These hostages shall be immediately delivered to the Commissioner, to remain in the possession of the United States, until all the persons, white and black, who were taken in the late war from among the citizens of the United States by the Shawnee nation, or by any other Indians residing in their towns, shall be returned.

"ART. 2. The Shawnees do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace, made between them and the king of England, the 14th day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

"Art. 3. If any Indian or Indians of the Shawnee's nation, or any other Indian or Indians residing in the territories, shall commit murder, or do any injury to any citizen of the United States, on any of them, that the nation shall deliver such offender, or offenders, to the officer commanding the nearest post of the United States, to be punished according to the ordinance of Congress; and in like manner, any citizen of the United States, who shall do an injury to any Indians of the Shawnees' nation, or any other Indian or Indians residing in the other's towns and under their protection, shall be punished according to the laws of the United States.

"Art. 4. The Shawnee nation having knowledge of the intention of any nation or body of Indians making war on any citizen or citizens of the United States, of their counseling together for that purpose, and neglecting to give information to the commanding officer of the nearest post of the United States, shall be considered as parties in such war, and be punished accordingly; and the United States shall, in like manner, inform the Shawnees of any injury designed against them.

"Art. 5. The United States do grant peace to the Shawnee nation, and do receive them into their friendship and protection.

"Art. 6. The United States do allot to the Shawnee nation, land within their territory, to live and hunt on, beginning at the line of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, at the place where the main branch of the great Miami, which falls into the Ohio and intersects said line; then down the Miami river to the fork of that river next to the Old Fort, which was taken by the French in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; thence due west to the river Delapasse, then down that river to the Wabash river; beyond which line none of the citizens of the United States shall settle or disturb the Shawnees in their settlement or possessions. And the Shawnees do relinquish to the United States all title or pretense of title they ever had to the lands east, west, and south, of the east, west, and south lines before described.

"ART. 7. If any citizen or citizens of the United States shall presume to settle upon the lands allotted to the Shawnees by this treaty, he or they shall be put out of protection of the United States.

(Signed.) "GEORGE CLARK,
"RICHARD BUTLER,
"SAMUEL H. PARSONS,
"And the Shawnee Chiefs and Warriors."

At a treaty held at Fort Harmar between Arthur St. Clair, governor of the territory north-west of the Ohio river, on behalf of the United States, in order to remove all cause of controversy regulating trade and settling boundaries with the Indian nations, in the northern department, of the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, and Sac Indians on the other part, on the 9th day of January, 1789; at this treaty there was a protest made by the Wyandots, against the grant made by the United States at the treaty of 1786 to the Shawnees, to live and hunt on the lands. Now, it is worthy of notice that this was only two years after the grant was made to the Shawnees. In this arrangement the United States agreed to protect the Shawnees against the interruption from any person or people whatever. The protest of the Wyandots, alluded to above, is as follows, viz:

"Be it remembered that the Wyandots have laid claim to the lands that were granted to the Shawnees to live and hunt on, at the treaty held at the Miami river in 1786, and have declared that, as the Shawnees have been so restless, and caused so much trouble, both to them and to the United States, and if they will not be at peace, they will dispossess them entirely. They further lay claim to all the country west of the Miami boundary, from the village to Lake Erie, and declare that it is under their protection."

This protest of the Wyandots, with many other things relating to their last treaty, was submitted to the President, George Washington, for his consideration, by the secretary of war, Henry Knox. It will be seen by the treaty of 1786, that, in consequence of the liberty granted to the Shawnees by the United States, to occupy and hunt on lands, they were prevailed upon to relinquish all title or pretense of title they ever had to lands east, west, and south of the east, west, and south of the tract allowed by the treaty of 1786, for them "to live and hunt on;" this included all the land they held any claim to at all. Here we see that the United States had not the authority to grant the Shawnees such privilege, for the simple reason that this land did not belong to the government but to other Indian tribes. This is the very first treaty made with the Shawnees, and they were imposed upon by giving them grants of land on which to live and which belonged to the Wyandots, thus deceiving them and bringing on other tribes much trouble.

In regard to this grant to the Shawnees in 1786, Arthur St. Clair, governor of the north-western territory, informed the President of the United States in May, 1788, two years after the grant was made to the Shawnees, that the claim of the Wyandot nation to the lands reserved for the Shawnees, was strongly insisted upon by them, and to be made an article of the treaty; to that I could not consent, only to satisfy them, and in order that it may be kept in remembrance, it was inserted at the bottom of it by way of memorandum. It seems this is a claim that has always been held up; and the reason that it was so much insisted upon at this time was, (they said) that they were sure that if the Shawnees and Cherokees were incorporated with them, they would continue to give them trouble; that it could not be expected to be borne much longer, that they would be driven out of the country, and then it would be claimed and held by the United States by right of conquest; they further added, "that if the Shawnees continued their depredations, they would themselves drive them off."

Nothing yet definite had been done by the government in regard to the impositions practiced upon the Wyandots, in order to find room for the Shawnees, who, it now seems, had been restless for many years, and who, it appears, had been very troublesome to both whites and Indians, in consequence, no doubt, of their being harassed and driven from one place to another, until they were entirely destitute of a home; and to make amends for this, a measure is resorted to, to secure them a home or place to live upon at the expense of another Indian nation and not the United States.

CHAPTER XVI.

In a council held by Anthony Gamlin, in 1785, at the Miami Town, on the 25th of April, Blue Jacket, a warrior of the Shawnees, invited the governor to go with him to his house. Blue Jacket then told me, says Gamlin, "My friend, by the name, and with the consent of the Shawnees and Cherokees I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and are pleased with it, but, after consultation, we cannot give you an answer until after hearing from our father at Detroit; and we are determined to give you back the two bundles of wampum, and send you to Detroit to hear the chief, or stay here twenty nights to hear his answer. From all quarters we receive speeches from the Americans, and no two are alike. We suppose they intend to deceive us; then take back your bundles of wampum."

Gamlin told them that he could not go to Detroit. Blue Jacket got up and told him: "My friend, we are well pleased with what you say; our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit, it is only a proposal, thinking it for the best; our answer is the same as the Miamis'." In the evening, Blue Jacket having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Shawnee nation was in great doubt of the sincerity of the Bigknives, (the whites) having already been deceived by them; that they had first destroyed their lands, put out their council-fires, and sent away their young men living out hunting, without a mouthful of meat, and also had taken away their women, wherefore many of them would, with a great deal of pain, forget these affronts; moreover, that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, perhaps, be made that would tend to take away, by degrees, their land, and would serve them as they did before. A certain proof that they intended to encroach on our lands, is their new settlements on the Ohio. If they do not keep this side of the river clear, there never will be a reconciliation with the Shawnees, Iroquois, Wyandots, and, perhaps, many other Indian tribes.

This is all that took place in regard to the Shawnees at that time, in that council. By the documents printed by Congress it appears that, in 1792, a party of Shawnee Indians, who were of the hostile tribes of the northward, had gone down to New Orleans, and were sent from thence to Pensacola, where they were received by Governor O'Neal, who gave them presents and sent them into the Creek nation, with the Spanish king's interpreter. These Indians declared they would be at war with America as long as any of them should live. This declaration alone seemed to make them acceptable to the Spaniards, and they are now (1792) in what is called Savannah's

Town, and are a part of the Shawnees that settled with the Creeks a few years ago.

The above account appears to have been sworn to by James Leonard, before Gen. Wayne, on the 26th of July, 1792.

I have stated before, that previous to the year 1745 one band of the Shawnees had gone quite down to New Spain. This band mentioned here, is probably the band which settled with the Creeks, some years before 1792; and that band mentioned by Leonard is the four hundred and fifty who were found in the woods about the head-waters of the Mobile river, who were on their way to the country of the Creeks, and in 1792 these two bands seem to have got together.

CHAPTER XVII.

SPEECH of Cornplanter to General Washington. "Father, the voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great counselor, in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we, therefore, entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the town-destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our counselors and warriors are men and cannot be afraid, but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

"When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

"Father, we mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you without your paying to us anything for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other—What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

"Father, when you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled there told us that you were all brothers—the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a king, whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was as bright as the sun. What they said went to our hearts, and we accepted the invitation and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise they faithfully perform, and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told us that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart—Is the blame all ours?

"Father, when we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near the fire which you had kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste toward it. You then told us that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing; and you demanded from us a great country as the price of that peace which you had offered us, as if our want of strength had destroyed our right; our chiefs had felt your power and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to has bound our nation, but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled; and, although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly—Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

"Father, your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you, from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you? Hear, now, we beseech you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us within the lines of their state, and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day. On the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their state, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them on their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king at the time of making peace with you, and was *their own*; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend at that time, and, therefore, they sold the lands up to the line which was then shown to them as the line of that state. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but since that time we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

"Father, our nation empowered John Livingston to let a part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us; for, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps has come among us and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania under purchase from that Livingston, to whom, he said, he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said, also, that he had bought, likewise, from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same. And he said, also, that it did not belong to us, for the great king had ceded the whole of it when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days he proposed to run a line at a small distance eastward from our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war if we did not comply.

"Upon this threat our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to; and, therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war, rather than to submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street, the great trader to Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him upon this subject. He, also, told us that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we must give them up.

"Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania, and east of the Genesee river up to the fork, and east of a south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line. For this land Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand dollars a year forever. He paid us two thousand five hundred dollars in hand—part of the ten thousand—and he sent for us to come last spring to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars (and the one thousand dollars) due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he agreed with us for that sum, to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street, from Niagara, insisted on our receiving the money, as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us was, *that the king had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Tribes*, and that he had bought them from you and *paid you for them*. We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our land, which your commissioners so solemnly promised us, and we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

"Father, our writings were lodged in the hands of Street, of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street on every occasion, we doubted his honesty toward us, and we have since heard that he was to receive, for his endeavors to deceive us, a piece of land, ten miles in width, west of the Genesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to Lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase. No doubt, he meant to deceive us.

"Father, you have said that we are in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case, one chief has said he would ask you to put him out of pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hands of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace. Before you determine on a measure so unjust look up to God, who made us as well as you. We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

"Father, hear our case; many nations inhabited this country, but they had no wisdom, and, therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful and they compelled them to peace; the lands, for a great extent, were given up to them, but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on these lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, had a right to live upon the earth. The French came among us and built Niagara; they became our fathers and took care of us. Sir William Johnston came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles around Niagara, as a place of trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

"Father, when that great country was given up, there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up; and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chippewas and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us and ask us—Brothers of our fathers, where is the place you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

"Father, you have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When they called upon us, last spring, to go to war to secure them a bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet till we had spoken to you. But on our way down we heard that your army had gone toward the country which those nations inhabit, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

"Father, we will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not man, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own nation; for they ask continually, where is the land which our children and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the line running from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario would mark it forever on the east; and the line running from Beaver Creek to Pennsylvania would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so; for first one, and then another, come, and take it away, by order of that people which you tell us, promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer. When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God; and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night—for he feels that, among men become desperate by their danger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in endeavors to preserve peace, and at this moment, his wife and children are lying on the ground and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives that the great God will try his friendship in doing what is right.

"Father, the game which the great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended he should till the ground with the plow as the white people do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great business. All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations—no part of it ever belonged to the king of England, and he would not give it to you. The lands we live on our fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us for our children, and we cannot part with it.

"Father, we told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more. At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly, but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

"Father, innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families, but none of your people who committed the murder, have been punished. We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask, Was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

"Father, these are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just."

CHAPTER XVIII.

In December, 1792, in a council held with General Wayne at Chinuck, Slungetha (Cornplanter) and Little Arrow, chiefs of the Alleghana tribes, among other things said on behalf of the Shawnees, who had been in a confederated council with them, that the Shawnees said, that if they make peace it will be on these terms: The Americans to allow all the lands they had in Sir William Johnston's time, or, at least, the Ohio river shall be the line, and that they be paid for lands improved on the south side of that river. These, they say, are the terms, and the only ones on which they will make peace.

In a report of a commissioner appointed by Gov. Blount in 1793, he says, he asked an Indian of the Cherokee nation if he thought certain men of their nation would come into council. He answered, that, perhaps, they might, as most of the bad young fellows had gone to the Shawnees—fifty had started a few days ago, and that more were about to start.

The commissioner told him that the Shawnees were about making a treaty with the United States, and would not permit them to stay among them. The chief replied it may be so, but that at this time there were eight Shawnee chiefs in the Creek nation endeavoring to stimulate them to a war against the United States, and that these Shawnees had informed him, as they passed along to the Creeks, that their people had been expecting the approach of the federal army, and had been assembled in large bodies to receive them.

The commissioner states that one John Walker informed him that a number of young fellows had gone to the Shawnees, and that another party would soon set out, among which he had thought of going; that a number of Creeks, consisting of small parties, from two to eight, had come as far as Hiwassel.

In the year 1794, the British officer sent a message by three chiefs, a Delaware, a Shawnee, and a Miami. These, say two Pottawatomie chiefs (who were examined by an American officer by whom they were taken prisoners), were sent by the British officers to invite the Pottawatomies to go to war with the United States. That the Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawnees, Ottawas, Delawares, and Miamis had two thousand warriors collected.

On examining two Shawnee warriors, taken at the same time, they state that they left the ground Glaise (Auglaise) five months ago, or about the time the Indians sent a flag, with a proposition for peace; that they belonged to a party of twenty, who had been hunting all the spring on the Wabash, nearly opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and were on their return when taken; that about half the party had gone on before them, and the remainder were coming on slowly and hunting; that they had stolen about fifty horses from the Kentuckians on Salt river, during the spring and summer; that they only killed one man, and took no prisoners; that the man was killed by a white interpreter, belonging to the company, whose name is Kiddle; that on their way they met with a party consisting of four Indians, i. e., three Delawares and one Pottawatomie, who were on their way to the Big Blue Lick to steal horses; that this party informed them that all the Indians on White river were sent for to come immediately to the Grand Glaize, where the warriors of several nations were assembled; that the chiefs were yet in council and would not let their warriors go out; that they would not depend on the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on like dogs, after promising them to go to war and kill the Americans, but did not help them; they were determined to make peace—that they would not be amused by promises any longer; that the Shawnees have three hundred and eighty warriors at, and in the vicinity of the Grand Glaize, and generally can, and generally do, bring into action about three hundred warriors. Their great men are Blackwolf and Ke-hia-pe-la-thy, or Toma-Hawk. Their principal warriors are Blue Jacket and Captain Johnny. That the Delawares have in and about Grand Glaize four hundred and eighty warriors; that they had actually four hundred in the action against Gen. St. Clair; that the Miamis are about one hundred warriors, who live near Grand Glaize—several of them having removed to post St. Vincent (Vincenne) and the Mississippi. The Wyandots never sent into action more than one hundred and fifty warriors; they lived along the lake toward Sandusky; they do not know the number of Pottawatomies, nor the number of the other nations who would actually join in the war and determine to continue it; that the Chippewas would be the most numerous, and were mostly on their way to join the council; but war or peace depended on the British—if they would help them, it would probably be war, but if they would not, it would be peace; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs by themselves, unless the British would help them to fight; that the British were at the foot of the rapids, and if the Indians would generally turn out and join them, they would advance and fight the American army; that Blue Jacket had been sent by the British to the Chippewas and Northern Indians a considerable time since, to invite them and bring them to Roche-de-bout, there to join the British and the hostile Indians, in order to go to war against the Americans.

On the 13th of August, 1794, Gen. Wayne sent the following letter to the Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots: "I, Anthony Wayne, major-general and commander-in-chief of the Federal army, on the Grand Glaize, and commissioner-plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every one of the hostile tribes or nations of Indians north-west of the Ohio river, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest motives of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing men have led you, from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned village and settlements, do hereby extend the friendly hand of peace toward you, and invite every one of the hostile tribes of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army without delay, between this place and Roche-de-bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you the Delawares, Miamis, Shawnees, and all other tribes and nations settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and Auglaise rivers, your late possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed women and children from danger and famine, during the ensuing fall and winter.

"The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation. And to remove any doubt, or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the delegates you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safe return; and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawnee warrior, whom I took prisoner two days ago, with a flag, who will advance in front with a flag to meet me.

"Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors, six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five men and two women, who are now all safe at Greenville. But if this invitation be disregarded, and my flag and Mr. Miller be detained or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the best families of your nations.

"Brothers, be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises of the bad men of the Rapids. They have neither the inclination nor the power to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this last offer of peace. But in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of blood—let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the individual blessings of peace and tranquillity.

"ANTHONY WAYNE."

Notwithstanding what passed from the American officer—in good faith, no doubt—and the manner in which he would have carried out his offers to these poor deluded people, had they listened to him and agreed to the offers made them, they rejected them, and sent back his messenger and flag with an answer merely to delay time for a reinforcement to arrive—which did actually arrive two days before the action took place. They chose to risk another battle with the Americans rather than to accept these friendly terms which were offered them. In that engagement they got badly beat, and had to sue for peace; and after losing a large number of their men, as well as much of what property they had, they were compelled to take up with such terms as their conqueror chose to prescribe for them; no doubt but they would have made a much better treaty before they were whipped into it than afterward.

By information received in the American camp from a prisoner, it appeared that the Shawnees had three hundred warriors in the engagement with Gen. Wayne's army, but the prisoner could give no account of the number killed.

Sometime in this or the preceding year the Baron De Carondelet, a Spanish nobleman, made a present to the Shawnees and Delawares (who settled on it by permission of the Spanish government,) of a tract of land, containing twenty-five miles square, (the records of which are in St. Louis). This land is situated between the river St. Comb and Cape Girardeau, and bounded on the east by the Mississippi river, and on the west by Whitewater river. The Delawares left in 1815, and then the entire right fell to the Shawnees.

It appears that about the time mentioned above the Shawnees settled on this tract. In the many conflicts between the United States and the Indians during the last war, if these Shawnees lived in that country, which they no doubt did, that they, as far as appears, took no part against the Americans, but remained in quiet possession of the same undisturbed, while that country remained under Spanish authority; but when the United States purchased the country, the Shawnees soon had to leave and seek a home elsewhere, which will appear in the proper place.

CHAPTER XIX.

About the year 1794, the Society of Friends became concerned for the welfare of the Indians in the western country, as well as for that of the frontier settlers, who were liable to much suffering on account of the depredations of the Indians on the innocent and defenseless inhabitants, (as the records of the Yearly Meeting say). A fresh war had broken out between the Indians and the United States, devastating the frontier settlements, and staining the land with blood. Deeply affected with the horrors attendant on this contest, the Yearly Meeting nominated a large committee in order to endeavor to terminate these hostilities. In the same year they sent a memorial to the President and Congress, recommending the adoption of such just and pacific measures toward the nation as might arrest the farther shedding of blood and establish peace on a firm basis. A treaty was soon afterward held at Sandusky, but nothing was effected there.

In the year 1795, on the 3d day of August, Gen. Wayne held a treaty at Greenville with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Eel River, Weas, Kickapoos, and

Kaskaskias. At the opening of the treaty, General Wayne read the address of the Friends' Yearly Meeting, of Philadelphia, to the Indians and delivered them some presents sent them. This letter was couched in language entirely calculated to allay those feelings of bitterness which had been implanted deeply in their minds on account of accumulated wrongs, one after another.

Of this letter, General Wayne remarked to the chiefs in council: "Younger Brothers—I have received a letter from your friends, the people called Quakers, with a message to all the nations here assembled. The Quakers are a people whom I much love and esteem for their goodness of heart and sincere love of peace with all nations. Listen then to their voices, and let them sink deep into your hearts (here the general read the address and the invoice of their presents); their present, you see (continued he) is small, but being designed with the benevolent view of promoting the happiness and peace of mankind, it becomes of important value. They wish it to be considered merely as a token of regard for you, and a testimony of their brotherly affection and kind remembrance of you."

The treaty was concluded, and is as follows:

"A treaty of peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel rivers, *Weas*, *Kickapoos*, *Piankeshaws*, *and Kaskaskias*, to put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian tribes, Anthony Wayne, major-general, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes above-mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors met together at Greenville, the head-quarters of said army, have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Indian tribes.

"ARTICLE 1. Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian tribes.

"ART. 2. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Indian prisoners to the United States shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the general or commanding officer at Greenville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages, until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

"ART. 3. The general boundary line, between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawa's branch of the

Muskingum; and thence down that branch to the crossing-place above Fort Lawrence; thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Laramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the Kentucky, or Cuttawa, river. And, in consideration of the peace now established, of the goods formerly received from the United States, of those now to be delivered, and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter, and to indemnify the United States for injuries and expenses sustained during the war, the said Indian tribes do, hereby, cede and relinquish forever all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described, and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretense, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof. And for the same consideration, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit:

1. One piece of land, six miles square, at or near Laramie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water, or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece of six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece, six miles square, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece, six miles square, at the Ouiatanon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece, twelve miles square, at the British fort of the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land to be annexed to the district of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the river Reisin, on the south, lake St. Clair, on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west

end of Lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michilimackinac, and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English government, and a piece of land on the main to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the strait between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait, and also the island De Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of the Chicago river, emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece, six miles square, at the old Peoria's fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty. And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage, by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Laramie's store, thence, along said portage to the St. Mary's and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Laramie's store, along the portage; from thence to the river Auglaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami, at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforementioned, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake, and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of the Chicago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will, also, allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and the mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

"Art. 4. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article, by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands northward of the Ohio river, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the great lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed upon by the United States and the king of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the Ohio river, which has been assigned to General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors. 2. The post of St. Vincennes, on the Wabash river, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3. The lands at all other places, in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3d article; and 4. The post of Fort Massac, toward the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title or claim which they or any of them may have. And for the same considerations, and with the same views above-mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the Ohio river, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured."

The tribes to which those goods are to be delivered annually, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are as follows:

"1. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"2. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"3. To the Shawnees, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"4. To the Miamis, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"5. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"6. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"7. To the Pottawatomies, the amount of one thousand dollars.

"8. And to the Kickapoo, Weas, Eel River, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

"*Provided*, That if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at the annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

"Art. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands, relinquished to the United States, in the 4th article, it is now explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this—The Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell, their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States, and until such sale the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who may intrude upon the same; and the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States and no other power."

The foregoing contains all that related to the Shawnees at that treaty, and was duly signed by the parties; but as usual in Indian treaties, the government gave them great assurances of peace and protection.

There is one thing strikes the mind of the reader in looking over this treaty, and that is, that the government requires of the Indians indemnity for the expense of this war, all the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the boundary line described in this treaty, and we may to that amount add sixteen reservations, which, together, contain about 640 square miles, or 409,600 acres, beside several other reservations, the amount not given. All these reservations, it will be perceived, were selected at points, too, of importance, and of course, contained the most valuable lands they held. All these lands to be taken from this people to pay for the expense of a war they were urged into by bad white men under the influence of another nation, who still harbored bad feelings toward the United States; still, hard as it was, the Indians had to be the only losers, in a pecuniary point of view, as the lands they ceded to the United States, were worth more by far than the war and the goods promised, and all they ever cost the government. And beside this, they were compelled to say, that for the good-will they had for the United States (as well as to pay for this war) they thus ceded away this vast amount of their territory. The treaty would look much better without that part in it, for it is not true.

CHAPTER XX.

In the year 1802, a deputation of Shawnees, of which the chief, Blackhoof, was one, and several of the Delaware chiefs in company with him on their way to Washington City on business; in order to renew their acquaintance with their old friends, the Quakers, they visited Philadelphia, they being immediately descended from those who had been so kindly treated in former days by William Penn and his people, and who, in return, had received so many favors from them, when strangers among them and often in need of such things as the natives could furnish them.

The accounts of this visit say that the chiefs were treated with great kindness, and furnished with a considerable amount in money and goods adapted to their wants.

This deputation, on their return from Washington, was furnished with the following beautiful letter from the President, through the Secretary of War, to wit:

"To the chiefs of the Delawares and Shawnee Nations of Indians.

"The Secretary of War of the United States sends greeting.

"Friends and Brothers:—The deputation, appointed by you to visit the seat of government, have arrived and been welcomed by your father, the President of the United States, with cordiality; they have spoken, and he has heard all the representations that they were instructed by you to make to him. In his name, I have answered them in sincerity and truth, and when they shall have reported to you what I have said, I trust that you will feel all uneasiness removed from your minds, and that you and your nations will experience that satisfaction which must result from a conviction of the certainty with which you may continue to rely upon the friendship and protection of the United States. These can never be forfeited but by the misconduct of the red people themselves.

"Your father, the President, instructs me to assure you on behalf of your nation, that he will pay the most sacred regard to existing treaties between your respective nations and ours, and protect your whole territory against all intrusions that may be attempted by white people. That all encouragement shall be given you in your just pursuits and laudable progress toward comfort and happiness, by the introduction of useful arts. That all persons, who shall offend against your treaties, or against any of the laws made for your protection, shall be brought to justice, or if this should be impossible, that a faithful remuneration shall be made to you, and that he never will abandon his beloved Delawares and Shawnees, nor their children, so long as they shall act justly toward the white people and their red brethren.

"This is all that he requires from you for his friendship and protection; he trusts you will not force him to recede from these determinations by improper or unjust change of conduct, but that you will give him abundant course to increase, if possible, his desire to see you happy and contented under the fostering care of the United States.

"I send you a chain (which is made of pure gold) by your beloved chiefs; it will never rust, and I pray the Great Spirit to assist us in keeping the chain of friendship (of which this gold chain is an emblem) bright for a long succession of years.

"Given under my hand and seal of the war office of the United States, the ninth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and two."

Signed: "HENRY DEARBORN,
"*Secretary of War.*"

CHAPTER XXI.

At a treaty held by Charles Jewit, Commissioner on behalf of the United States, in the year 1805, and Wyandots, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares, and Pottawatomies I find the following:

1. The boundary line between the United States and the Indian nations aforesaid, shall in future be a meridian line drawn north and south through a boundary to be erected on the south shore of Lake Erie, one-and-twenty miles due west of the boundary line of Pennsylvania, extending north until it intersects the boundary line of the United States, and extending south until it intersects a line heretofore established by the treaty of Greenville.

2. That the Indian nations aforesaid, for the considerations of friendship to the United States, and the sums of money hereinafter mentioned, to be annually paid to the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Miami nations of Indians, have ceded and do hereby relinquish and cede to the United States forever, all the lands belonging to the said nations of Indians lying east of the aforesaid line, bounded southwardly and eastwardly by the line established by the said treaty of Greenville; and northwestwardly by the

northernmost point of the forty-first degree of north latitude.

3. That the United States, to preserve harmony, manifest their liberality, and in consideration of the cession made in the preceding article, will every year, forever hereafter, at Detroit or some other convenient place, pay and deliver to the Shawnees and Seneca nations of Indians, and the Delaware and Wyandot nations of Indians, the sum of eight hundred and twenty-five dollars—in the whole an annuity of one thousand dollars, which last sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars has been renewed to the President, in trust for said nations, by the Connecticut company, and by the company incorporated by the name of "the proprietors of the half million acres of land lying south of the Erie, called 'sufferers' land,'" payable annually, as aforesaid, and to be divided between said nations, from time to time, in proportion with the appropriations, as the President shall agree.

At another treaty, bearing the same date, the Indians released all further claims on this company to the above described land, or annuity, for the sum of eighteen thousand nine hundred and sixty dollars.

CHAPTER XXII.

In a treaty held at Brownstown, in Michigan Territory, in the year 1808, between William Hull, commissioner on behalf of the United States, and the Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, and Ottawas, it was agreed by the parties that the lands lying on the south-east side of Lake Erie, between said lake and the boundary lines established by the treaty of Greenville and Fort Industry, with the exception of a few reservations to the United States, still belong to the Indian nation; so the United States cannot, of right, open and maintain a convenient road from the settlement on the Ohio to the settlements in Michigan, nor extend those settlements, so as to connect them. In order, therefore, to promote this object, so desirable and evidently beneficial to the Indian nations, as well as to the United States, the parties have agreed to the following article, to wit:

"In order to promote the object aforesaid, and in consideration of the friendship they have toward the United States, for the liberality and benevolent policy which has been practiced toward them, by the government thereof, the said nations do hereby give, grant, and cede, unto the said United States, a tract of land for a road, of one hundred and twenty feet in width, from the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie to the western line of the Connecticut Reserve, and all the land within one mile of said road, on each side thereof, for the purposes of establishing settlements thereon. Also, a tract of land for a road only, of one hundred and twenty feet in width, to run from lower Sandusky southwardly, to the boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, with the privilege of taking timber from the adjacent lands, as well as other materials as may be necessary for making and keeping in repair said road, with the bridges that may be required along the same."

This cession of land, it will be seen, includes a tract two miles and one hundred and twenty feet wide, and the other one hundred and twenty feet wide, and (as shown on the map) one hundred miles long—that is, two hundred square miles, beside the two roads, of one hundred and twenty feet each in width. Now, it will present to the mind of a thoughtful person, as a question of some importance, what did these Indians get for this large tract of land? Well, by the language of the treaty, we are to understand it in this way: that the Indians gave all this tract of land merely as a manifestation of the good-will they have for the United States and the government thereof, for "their liberality and the benevolent course practiced toward them, they cede them this land." That appears to be all the government expected to give them, that of giving liberty to keep in mind their benevolent acts, by continually paying in land for them.

Now, wherein was this benevolent policy pursued toward this people, for which they are taxed so heavily? Was it by the treaty at Greenville? Not at all. In that treaty they ceded an enormous amount of land for indemnity, for the expense of the war, and for "the benevolent policy practiced toward them." Was it for the favors bestowed on them in Jewit's treaty of 1805? Certainly not; for in that treaty they relinquished their claim to half a million acres of land for eighteen thousand dollars, and for favors bestowed on them by the United States, and as a *consideration of their friendship for the United States.*

With great respect for our government I must conclude, after reading these treaties, in which such a vast country has been acquired of the Indians, that, after taking land sufficient to indemnify the United States for these Indian wars, it is found that the land we want will very far over-pay that demand, and we add to that the curious account *of* indemnity from them for our benevolence toward them, and make them acknowledge it, and also to make them pay us something to satisfy us that they have actually a great regard for us.

I may insert here that about the year 1806, the Society *of Friends* in England took into consideration the arduous care of the Society in Pennsylvania and other States, for the instruction of the Indians, and feeling much interest, too, for the welfare of this people, in their desolate condition, raised the sum of £11,770 16*s*. 8*d*, and sent it over to the United States, to advance *this* benevolent work.

CHAPTER XXIII.

It was to the Shawnees of Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek that the labors of the Society of Friends were directed, at a period antecedent to that time; but in the year 1812, when war broke out between England and the United States, their labors were suspended until the return of peace, at which time they were resumed.

About this time the Friends erected, for the Shawnees, at its own expense, and with the consent of government, a grist-mill and saw-mill, on the Auglaize river, at Wapaughkonnetta, and made other improvements at that place, such as a dwelling-house for a superintendent and family, who were sent out to reside among the Indians, to take charge of the mills, and to endeavor to assist and encourage them in commencing the improvement of their land. These Indians, from the knowledge they had acquired in the arts of agriculture, soon learned to raise corn, beans, pumpkins, etc. The corn they had ground at the mill, free from toll, which their women soon learned to bake into bread, which they found much better and much easier done than their former method of pounding into hominy.

The expense of erecting the mills, keeping them in repair, paying hands to attend them, as well as every other expense appertaining to the support of this institution, for the benefit of the Indians, was all borne by the Society of Friends. The saw-mill was used in making boards, in order to assist the Indians in making their houses and furniture for the comfort of their families.

A large amount of expense was incurred, by keeping up and supporting this institution in that remote place, being thirty miles from the settlements of white people, as all the supplies had to be hauled that distance, on extremely bad roads; and a vast amount fed away to the hungry Indians. Notwithstanding which, the Society continued its labors, although there was much difficulty in obtaining superintendents in that wilderness, who were willing to forsake the comforts of life, and civil and religious society, and spend their time in that cold and inhospitable region, and spend such a life as they had then to endure, among this (then) rude and savage people.

The Shawnees were very ignorant, in regard to building houses, making rails, building fence, etc. Being aware of this, the Society employed young white men to assist them in building cabins, making rails, etc., and in doing many other things. They were furnished too, with plow irons, which the Friends stalked for them.

About this time, they received a handsome present in money, from a female Friend in England, for the purpose of supplying them with farming utensils and other necessary implements of husbandry, as an encouragement to them in their laudable undertaking. This money was judiciously appropriated, which, together with the assistance they received from government, and by their own industry, they were soon in a way of doing much better for themselves, than they had formerly been.

Thus encouraged in bettering their condition in life, they fast gained in the arts of civilization and in the acquisition of property, and the estimation of its real value, after having honestly acquired it. Being gradually furnished with cows, they soon learned the use of them, to the great comfort of themselves and families. They soon learned the use and benefit of oxen, and to work horses, and plowed their corn, and thus relieved their women of the intolerable task they had before laid on them, of raising their corn with the hoe, and by that course, the women had more time to attend to the care of themselves and families. And, as the men thus made provision for furnishing food for their families, the women were not behind in their part of the work; and at lenght these kind-hearted people had begun under the fostering care of the government, and by the aid of the Society, to realize better days; and through which, they could look forward with a pleasing hope of one day being a prosperous and happy people.

They had by two treaties, secured an annuity of three thousand dollars annually, to be paid them at Wapaughkonnetta, for the benefit of the whole tribe;

that is, each person to draw his or her portion in money annually, forever. This, for many years, was honestly paid to them, agreeably to the stipulations of the treaties, while their old and worthy agent remained in charge of their affairs; but, as the government itself passed into new hands, so in like manner those officers who had long managed the Indian affairs, had to give place to others, who neglected their business, and the poor Indians suffered.

These poor creatures had many, and to them, almost insurmountable obstacles to encounter, in turning their minds toward an entire change in their manner of passing through this world. This, to an entirely independent race of men, as much so, perhaps, as any that ever lived in any age of the world, was doubtless a very hard task for them to be reconciled to. These undaunted men of the forest, from time immemorial, had been the independent owners of the soil. They had had the undisputed ownership of this vast continent of America for ages; they had, before the whites were ever seen on it, roamed over it (as Tecumseh remarked to Harrison,) to eat its fruits, and to fill it with the same race. Wherever one of those remarkable people set his foot, there was his home—there, could he boast was his own home. He was on his own soil. No tyrant to disinherit him; no one could order him off his soil; no written code of laws could encircle him, and here he was content. No voyages of discovery troubled his imagination at all. No continent hunted by them to conquer; but here, where Providence placed them, they were content to remain; here, they were no doubt content. If they only had "food to eat, and raiment to put on," they were content. If broils arose between different nations, and war ensued, we have it stated by themselves, that they were soon arrested by the friendly mediation of other bands. They wanted but little as a little, a few articles of food and clothing would satisfy them. They had a very decided advantage over us in that. Although

"The wise man 's happy nature to explore;
The poor (Indian 's) contented that he knows no more."

To an independent people as the Indians once were, after being so badly treated by another race of men, as they had been in so many instances by the white people—now to look toward changing their manner of life entirely, by adopting the life of their oppressors, must, to such minds as theirs, have been a very severe trial indeed; for to exchange an Indian life for the life of a white man, is nothing short of a thorough, radical change out and out—religion and all, not a vestige of it is to be left. How hard it must have been for the Shawnees in particular, who were as sensitive a tribe as any nation on the continent perhaps; one who had been as badly treated perhaps, as any other had, and felt their wrongs as much as any other had, thus to consent to leave all, and embrace the views of the white man, and adop his manner of life.

And it may be safely concluded, that these people did agree to come into the measure, by the subject being introduced to them by the Society of Friends, more readily than they would have done from the influence of any other people, as they well remembered how kindly they were treated by William Penn and his people long before.

About the year 1810, the Shawnees received a letter from their agent, John Johnston, by the hands of some Friends from Baltimore, when they visited them, on the subject of commencing to labor for their improvement. This letter urged them in the most earnest manner, to embrace the course proposed to them by the Quakers. He declared to them, that the Quakers had ever been the real friends of the Indians—had never done any wrong to them—never told them any lies, nor never would do it, etc. This letter the Shawnees still have in their possession, and hold it in much reverence on account of its author, who, they say, never deceived them in his life.

The fact that they did agree to come into the measure at that time, when they were so stripped of their lands and were smarting on account of recent and multiplied wrongs, perpetrated against them by the white men, is the better calculated to awaken every good feeling of our nature in sympathy for them. Notwithstanding the exalted opinion which an Indian never fails to have of himself and his race, still to see him look up to the white man (an inferior race, most certainly) for counsel and advice, I say this has never failed to tender my feelings. During the time I have spent with the Shawnees, on many occasions I have been looked up to for counsel, by men vastly my superiors in years, in experience, in public affairs, in intellect and in the power of speech, as well as in fine feelings; in fact, in everything except in a knowledge of letters and in the use of them. Many of them have a very correct idea of human nature. They never ask for written evidences of the good character of a man, as we do. They only wish to see a man, to look him sternly in the face, and observe his manner for a few minutes; then it is no hard task to obtain from them their opinion of the man, and they are not often mistaken.

At the time the Friends commenced their labors among the Shawnees, they were soon prevailed upon to commence in agricultural pursuits; but they were opposed for several years, to the idea of having their children educated in a knowledge of letters; yet they at length agreed to that, also, and a school was set up for that purpose, and their children evinced an aptness for learning beyond what had been anticipated. This encouraged their parents, and little objection was heard to schools afterward—the schools were conducted on the manual labor system.*

The friends of the Indians were at length much gratified to find that this noted and restless band of Indians were advancing rapidly in the arts of civilization, and thereby emerging from their deplorable condition of hunger and nakedness into a peaceable and plentiful living; and thus they continued to do until about the year 1830, when intimations reached their ears that the government had it in contemplation to buy them out.

This they had dreaded from the first, and they often remarked, when they were urged to improve their land, that "if they did improve their land the whites would want it, and persuade government to drive them off," etc. But their friends would try to allay these apprehensions by assuring them that they need have no fears on that account, as they could not believe, for a moment, that the United States would be so intolerably hard, after the solemn pledges so often made and repeated, that if they would improve their lands and be at peace, that they never should be asked for their land; but alas! what a mistake!

An account of the manners and customs of the Shawnees in their uncultivated state.

As we have traced the Shawnees through a long period, extending through nearly three generations, and until we see them nearly emerged from a wandering life, incident to the chase, and enjoying peace and plenty, too, of the necessaries, and many of them, the comforts of life, matured by their own industry and good houses, orchards, stock, etc., we shall leave them for awhile unmolested, and endeavor to give an account of the manner in which they spent their time, through the various seasons of the year, previous to this new era in their history; and this we can do partly from a very early knowledge of this people's manners and customs, and partly from accounts received by conversing with the older Indians.

Previous to these Indians commencing the improvements of their land, they lived in villages near Auglaize river. Through the warm season of the year, they would remain about home, and would raise considerable quantities of corn and beans—all the labor being performed by the women and children, who had not only to plant and tend it, but to watch the ponies off, as they had no fences in those times. The men would lounge about during the summer, when the weather was warm and the skins and *furs* not fit for market; sometimes, when hunger drove them away from their shades, they would employ themselves in catching fish, and now and then sally off to the woods and kill a deer, as such animals were plenty then. By the time *fall* would arrive they would have their corn all used up, as these people never, in the state in which they lived while uncultivated, try to lay up in store beforehand; what they have to-day, if they need it they use it, if it was the last bite they had. Nothing is too costly or too good to set before a friend—what one has is freely set before another—and in this way all they have is soon entirely consumed, as they feast almost continually, when they have anything to feast one another with.

In the fall season they nearly all commence preparing for their winter's hunt. When about to set off, the whole family, men, women and children, together with their dogs, (of which they always have a large supply,) *cats*, and all, with all their ponies, of which they keep in great numbers, with as much of their furniture as they can conveniently carry, generally consisting of several brass or copper kettles, some wooden ladles, bowls, and large spoons, a tomahawk, and each one a large butcher-knife. Thus equipped, the whole company set off for the lonely woods. I have seen many of these companies moving off in cold weather, among whom were to be seen the aged, grey-headed grandmother, the anxious, care-worn, and nearly forlorn mother with her half-naked children, and often a little infant on her back, fastened to a board or wrapped in her blanket and held to her back, with its little naked head to the cold wind over its mother's shoulders; the whole company headed by the nimble-footed, stout-hearted warrior, with his blanket drawn close around his body, a handkerchief curiously twisted to a knot on his head, with his gun on his shoulder and gunstick in his hand, his tomahawk in his belt, which is so constructed that the poll is his pipe and the handle the stem, and he carries his tobacco in the skin of some little animal, often the polecat skin.

When they arrive at the place of destination, they erect a tent of sufficient size to afford room for the whole family to lodge in. This tent is made of small poles, with the large end stuck in the ground and the small ends lashed together at top, and then the skins of animals, which they have killed, are stretched over the poles, so that the upper ones lap over the under ones and thus turn off the rain and snow as well as boards. In the middle of this tent they build their fire, the smoke ascends through an opening in the top, left for that purpose. In the tent are spread their skins, on which they repose; all lie down together and cover themselves with their blankets, which each one always has if it is in their power, they being of great benefit both by night and day. Indeed they are seldom seen without them, using them for cover at night and wrapper by day; they use them while out hunting and when attending their fashionable parties, of which they are extremely fond and have often, on which occasion they put on their finest beads, belts, ribbons, and the like paraphernalia, and over all the rest of the body goes the blanket, if cleaned well, if not, it is at once cleaned. If they are furnished with anything in the way of provision, the blanket is at once removed from their shoulders, and whatever they have to carry home is wrapped in it; indeed so natural is it to see an Indian with his blanket about him, that one would almost conclude that it was actually a part and parcel of the Indian. There are a few things sure to be seen in an Indian's possession, unless very poor indeed; these are a poney, a gun, tomahawk, a dog, butcher-knife, and blanket. These things are his outfit, and if thus furnished, he is not considered a very poor man by his people.

When thus settled on their intended hunting-grounds, the men sally forth in quest of game, and if any is to be found, they do not fail to bring it down with their rifles. When the game is killed it is hung up in the woods out of the reach of the wolves, then the hunter pushes on in quest of more, and often continues his hunt for several days before returning to the camp. Having secured a quantity in this way, he returns to the camp with what he can carry, remains all night with his family and feasts on what he has thus provided. When rested from his excursion and sees his family supplied with food, he sets off with his pony in quest of what game he has secured over the woods, and so thoroughly are these people acquainted with the woods that an Indian hunter can find all the game he has hanging over the hunting-ground, for miles in extent in every direction; and so honest are they, that no Indian will interrupt what he finds hanging up which others have killed. When the hunter returns to the camp with his game, he gives all into the hands of the women and children, who take care of the skins and furs in the neatest manner, and then slice the best of the venison up in long thin slices to dry, except the hams, which they dry before the fire for trade; and such bony parts as they cannot cure to advantage, they boil in their kettles, and upon that and the soup, they feast bountifully, and then the hunter resumes his regular chase, for several days together, through the whole winter, or until the skins and furs become unfit for market, and that is toward the last of February; then they return to their homes.

When the season for hunting deer closes, the trapping season opens; those of the Indians, who chased the deer and trapped the vermin—and nearly all the Shawnees did, who lived near Wapaughkonnetta—if they returned at all from the winter hunt, would set out in the same way again. This branch of their business was conducted in the following manner. As soon as the season arrives for frogs to come out, which are the principal food of the raccoon, and as they live in and about the ponds of water which abound in that country where these animals inhabit, the raccoons are ever in quest of them and frequent those places, and not being a water-animal, they have to resort to stratagem, hence they traverse every log, that lops in or about the water, in order to reach their prey. The Indians, being accustomed to this, resort to stratagem too, in order to take *their* prey. This they do after the following manner. Immediately across one of these logs, that lies furthest in the water, they place a long straight pole, and directly over this, and lengthwise with it, is laid another and stakes firmly driven on each side, so that the upper one will fall directly on the under one and fit it to exactness; the upper pole is then raised at the upper end, and curiously suspended by triggers arranged so that, when the animal is traversing the log in quest of his hidden prey, in crossing the pole on the log he comes directly in contact with the thread, made of sinews from the deer, hanging by these triggers, when the upper pole, by the movement of the animal, is let loose; then the game is instantly secured safe for the new owner until he comes his daily rounds to his traps in search of his well-earned victim, which is taken out and the trap again set in readiness for the next evening intruder. The game, thus taken, is lashed on the pony and carried the rounds of the traps and to the camp, where he is stripped of his soft, warm covering, and well spread out on sticks and hung up to dry by the tent, in care of the squaws, while his body is dressed and hung up by an Indian fire until it is well roasted, when the happy beings divide and eat the flesh, and the dogs devour the bones, and thus are supplied their insatiate appetites, and this ends the ceremonies of the feast. But such is their inclination to the golden rule, that if one should find the trap of another, he would not plunder and rob it, but would quietly remove the game carefully, hang it in a bush near by, and set the trap again for the accommodation of his neighbor. Thus we see their honesty exhibited and adhered to in every instance of their pursuits.

In the foregoing brief account, we may see in some degree the forlorn condition of these people. No comfortable homes, or shelters for their families to repose in. No knowledge how to raise provisions from the ground, or manufacture clothing, but ever dependent on the wilderness and chase, for supporting their families; and only to follow these poor creatures into the dark recesses of the woods through a dreary, cold, and icy winter, in that cold climate in the northern part of Ohio, where the snow lies on the ground nearly all winter. What do we behold, but the roaring wind among the tall trees' ice-clad tops in the lonely forest; the pitiless howling of the ravenous wolf, or the frightful scream of the panther—all crying in their peculiar way, for food, shivering with cold, and almost famished for sustenance, standing ready to devour whatsoever may come within their savage grasp. But alas! what else may be heard amid this wild and fearful tumult of animals and elements? Right *there*, in the midst of this scene, beneath a few slender poles and skins in that little hovel on the cold frozen earth, when these ferocious beasts of prey cease a moment for breath, may be heard the weak and pitiful cry of the poor, little, cold, affrighted babe, clinging to its mother for food, and protection from the devourer, who is at the very threshold of its poor habitation ready to destroy it in a moment, and no doubt would in many cases, only for the tender care of that gracious Being, who long before, stopped the mouths of lions; who, although He had provided food for them, still these poor little beings were created for higher and nobler purposesthan these.

In addition to all the other circumstances connected with the condition of the Shawnees, in order to render them objects of commiseration, was their superstitious notion about witchcraft. They were as firm believers in that ancient and delusive notion, as ever the colonists of New England were, and put many of their people to the most cruel deaths on that account; and it was with great labor and anxious care and pains of our friends who first resided among them, that they gave this up.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In the year 1809, Governor Harrison purchased from the Delawares, Miamis, and Pottawatomies, a large tract of land on both sides of the Wabash river, and extending up the said river about sixty miles above Vincennes. Tecumseh was absent at the time, and his brother, the Prophet, made no objections to the treaty, but when Tecumseh returned, he manifested great dissatisfaction, and threatened some of the chiefs with death, who had made this treaty. Harrison hearing of his dissatisfaction, sent an invitation to him to repair to Vincennes to see him, and assured him, that any claims he might have to the lands ceded by that treaty, were not affected by the treaty at all—that he might come on and present his claims, and if they were found to be valid, the lands would be given up, or an ample compensation made for it.

Accordingly, on the 12th of August, Tecumseh arrived at Vincennes, accompanied by a large number of his warriors. When the council convened, Tecumseh arose and said, "Brothers, I have made myself what I am; I would that I could make the red people as great as the conceptions of my own mind

When I think of the Great Spirit that rules over all, I would not then come to Governor Harrison, to beg of him to tear this treaty in pieces, but I would say to him, brothers, you have liberty to return to your own country. Once, there was not a white man in all this country. Then, it all belonged to the red-men; children of the same parents—placed on it by the Great Spirit, to keep it, to travel over it, to eat its fruits, and fill it with the same race. Once a happy people, but now made miserable by the white people, who are never satisfied, but always encroaching on our land. They have driven us from the great salt water, forced us over the mountains, and would shortly push us into the lakes, but we are determined to go no further. The only way to stop this evil, is for all the red-men to unite in claiming a common right in the soil, as it was at first, and should be now, for it never was divided, but belonged to all. No one tribe has a right to sell even to each other, much less to strangers, who demand all, and will take no less.

"The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians who had it first—it is ours—it belongs to us. *We* may sell, but all must agree; any sale made by a part is not good. The last sale is bad. It was made by a part only; a part do not know how to sell; it requires all to make a bargain for all; a part cannot do it."

Harrison in reply, declared to Tecumseh, that he and his band had no right to interfere or say one word in this matter, as he said the Shawnees had been driven from Georgia by the Creek Indians, and therefore, had no claim to land in this country. This exasperated the chief, and he pronounced the declaration, of Harrison, a falsehood. Harrison told him he was a bad man, and for some time it was apprehended that a serious conflict would ensue. Harrison ordered Tecumseh from the house immediately, which order was obeyed.

However, the council was resumed the next day. On again assembling in the morning, the Indians were invited by the governor into the house, where seats were provided for the governor, his attendants, and the Indian chiefs.

Tecumseh declined going into the house, but proposed that the council be held outside, under the shade of some trees near-by, to which, Harrison objected, telling him, that it would be troublesome to remove the seats from the house. Tecumseh replied, "that it would be unnecessary to remove more than what would accommodate the white people; that, as for him and his friends, they would sit on the ground; that red-men were accustomed to sitting on the ground; that the earth was their mother, and they loved to recline on her bosom."

Nothing was effected at that council, but on the next day, the parties again met, but nothing like a reconciliation was effected. Harrison informed Tecumseh, before they separated, that he would lay the case before the President of the United States, and await his decision on the subject. Tecumseh replied, "Well, as the great chief is to decide the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough in his head to cause him to order you to give up those lands. It is true, that he may sit in his fine house and drink his wine, while you and I shall have to fight it out."

As this great chief was so earnest in his pretensions to a right in the soil thus sold in his absence, it seems, in justice, that his claim ought to have been allowed; any one may plainly see, that his denial of a participation in that land, in common with other tribes, was what was the cause of his joining himself and his influence on the side of the enemies of our country, in the bloody war which ensued, in which many unoffending people had to suffer.

Certainly Tecumseh and his party had as good a right to the treaty Harrison held with the Indians at Vincennes, for the purchase of the land where they lived, as Blue Jacket had, in that held at Greenville; and by the minutes of that treaty, it appears that he, although a war-chief, who had taken an active part in the war against the Americans, had been allowed by Gen. Wayne, to occupy a very conspicuous part in the deliberation of that treaty, and even before opening the council he waited several days for the arrival of the Shawnee chiefs; and in Jewit's treaty of 1805, and Hull's of 1808, the Shawnees were recognised as owners, in common with other tribes, and their consent asked for and obtained in the transfer of the lands ceded in those treaties, and they in the same situation, in reference to those lands, that Tecumseh and his people were in, in the case of these Wabash lands, and if they had a right, Tecumseh must have had the same right, which, one would conclude, if any of the Indians had any rights at all, it was to decide among themselves who had a right and who had not. If the government intended to pay a stated sum for that land, it mattered nothing to whom it was paid, that did, of course, belong to the party who was to receive the pay; and in that light, no doubt, Wayne and the other commissioners viewed it, and Tecumseh, had he been treated in the same way, might have lived in peace and died a natural death; but he was ambitious, and ambition ruined him.

CHAPTER XXV.

At a council held at Greenville in 1812, at which were the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, and several other tribes, these Indians were made acquainted with the nature of the controversy between the United States and England, and urged to join the United States in the contest. The reply of some of the chiefs is inserted here, as taken down by the commissioners at the time, which will show their aversion to joining in the conflict. The commissioners charged that the Indians had violated the treaty of 1809, and informed them that they had a right then to speak for themselves on the subject of this charge. To which Captain Charley, an Eel river Miami Chief, replied as follows:

"Listen, Bigknife, my Father: — You have requested to hear us, and you shall now hear. I want you to listen attentively and let none go away until all have heard what I have to say. You have told the truth in all you have said. When I heard you at Fort Wayne you then said a great deal which was for the benefit of the Indians. Again, father, when you were going on to Tippecanoe, for fear any interruption should take place, I thought I would go and meet you there, in order to prevent any quarrel or misunderstanding. You then sent us on ahead of the army to the red brethren at Tippecanoe, and told us to return with an answer. I went to Tippecanoe, as you directed me, and left that place to return you an answer, accompanied by two Pottawatomies, one Miami, and one Delaware chief. I did not see you, because you had crossed the Wabash river, and taken another road from that which I expected, and we did not overtake you until the night of the battle at that place.

"We got near you before the battle began, but finding the battle had begun we scattered. Our not writing to you before the battle, father, was the cause of the confusion which followed; we then concluded that the Great Spirit had given us up, and we all scattered. As you mentioned these things I thought best to mention them too, and repeat the circumstance which happened; but we will now talk of other matters.

"Father, at Fort Wayne, where I again heard you speak, when our grandfathers, the Delawares, were there, our brothers, the Shawnees and Pottawatomies, together with the Miamis, were invited to take a seat with you; it was at Fort Wayne where I heard you point out the lands where our younger brothers, the Weas, were settled, saying you wished to purchase those lands. I again consulted my grandfathers, the Delawares, who answered that whatever their grandfathers, the Pottawatomies, agreed to, they would acquiesce in. When you spoke, at that treaty, of the lands you wanted, we told you that these lands belonged to our younger brothers, the Weas, and to consult them, and if they were willing to sell it, that we would agree to the sale."

CHAPTER XXVI.

In a treaty at St. Louis in 1815, between William Clark, Ninean Edwards, Augustus Chouteau, and several tribes of Indians, (among which were the Shawnees and Delawares,) concerning which the commissioners say: "The Shawnees and Delawares of this territory made known to us at Portage-des-soux, certain grievances of which they complain in talks delivered by two of their principal chiefs, which, at their request, we have the honor to transmit herewith for the information of the President. Speech of the Shawnees and Delawares on the occasion.

"Brothers, it is thirty years since we came to this country. When we arrived among the Spaniards to look for a suitable piece of land to settle ourselves on, after we found a place which we liked, we informed the Spanish officer of it, and that we intended to settle ourselves there. After we were settled the commanding officer told us to remain at peace, hunt quietly, not to steal horses, nor go to war with any other nation. The Spanish commander told us that we might occupy the space of land between St. Comb and the first creek above Cape Girardeau. This is what the Spaniards told us. Afterward the Spaniards went away, and the Americans took possession of the country. Soon after we went to visit the American commander, who gave us the same kind of recommendation, and gave us the same advice we had received from the Spaniards, that we should experience no difference, and that we should be as happy with them as we had been with the Spaniards. We were very much pleased. After the council we held with the Americans we returned home, and told our young men and warriors that the speech was just the same as we understood from the Spaniards. Governor Clark, our father, since these three or four years we are very much crowded by the white people, who steal our horses and many other things; but it has not made us angry, hoping that the American government will do us justice and take pity on our situation.

"Now that the commissioners are assembled to settle all matters of difficulty with the Indian tribes, we take this opportunity to lay under your consideration our present situation, and hope you will do all in your power to see us righted.

"My father, when the Spaniards told us to choose a piece of land, and when we made choice of it, we obtained from them a grant, which has been since unrecorded by the board of commissioners, and we understand that all the commissioners granted to the white people by the Spaniards, were good. We live among the white people, and our behavior has been such that no honest white man can have any cause to find fault with us; and we are certain they never will have any cause to complain hereafter. We have always conducted ourselves honestly and intend to continue so.

"Early in the spring, on my return from hunting, I found my house had been broken open, and what I had left in it all gone. I then took the resolution of moving to another place on the Castor river, to settle myself, provided my father, Governor Clark, would be pleased with my doing so. He recommended to us to raise stock, and to cultivate our land with industry. His advice we have followed, and we wish to remove to the new settlement, if we can be permitted so to do, and we do not care anything more for our old town; but again, lately, we have been encroached upon by a bad white man, formerly by the name of Jenkins, who, we hope, you will remove from this country, if we are permitted to remain in it."

In twenty-two days from the date of the above communication orders were sent by the President, to remove all persons who had intruded upon the Shawnees and Delawares' land as soon as possible.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How the Shawnees came to locate themselves at Wapaughkonnetta, or the precise time they made their first settlement there, I am not able to say, but probably it was only by the indulgence of some other tribe that they got to settle there in the first place, as, from the accounts of the various treaties in which they had been parties, they had been disinherited altogether, as far as related to the ownership of land anywhere; but the band, who had participated in the wars with Kentucky, had their villages at Piqua, on the Miami, and probably they were driven from there to Wapaughkonnetta, which is not very far distant, where they established the village of that name on the Auglaize river. This village, I have learned, derived its name from an ancient and distinguished woman of that name, and that it is a Shawnee word.

The first clear title, which had any feature of a land title in it, which this tribe ever got from government for land, was in 1817. In a treaty held at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie, in that year, by Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, commissioners on the part of the United States, and several tribes of Indians, of which the Shawnees was one; in this treaty no provision whatever was made for the band who had resided on the Wabash river, who composed Tecumseh's band, as in the schedule of names appended to that treaty who were to receive a grant for land at Wapaughkonnetta, none of this band is included.

This treaty is a novelty, in comparison to most of the Indian treaties of modern times, as it sets out in an entirely different strain altogether. We have seen in what language other treaties set out, but in this the commissioners say, "That in consideration of the faithful services of the Shawnees in the late war with England, and for divers other considerations; the government of the United States settle on the Shawnees an annuity of two thousand dollars annually, forever, to be paid to them at Wapaughkonnetta.

"The United States also agree to grant by patent, in fee-simple, to Blackhoof and other chiefs of the Shawnee tribe, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land, ten miles square, the center of which shall be the council-house at Wapaughkonnetta.

"The United States also agree to grant, in fee-simple, to Piachtha and other chiefs of the Shawnee tribe residing on Hog Creek, for the use of the tribe there, to the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract containing twenty-five square miles, which is to join the tract granted at Wapaughkonnetta, and to be laid off in a square form."

The same treaty secures to Qua-ta-wapee (Captain

Lewis) and other Shawnees, of Lewistown, forty square miles.

It may be interesting to many persons, and particularly so to young persons, to have the entire schedule of names inserted here. The names were probably written by Gen. Cass or the agent, John Johnston, either of whom well understood the Indian orthography, and *there* may be found the names of great men, among whom, and the most prominent in council and as speakers, were Blackhoof and Wayweleapy, and the leader in the agricultural arts was Peaitchtha. Several others on this list were men of strong minds and remarkable for honest, upright integrity; but now, in 1855, when copying off these names, I have to reflect with sorrow that all those I have already named are dead.

SCHEDULE.—"The tracts at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek are to be equally divided among the following persons, namely: Blackhoof, Pamthe or Walker, Peaseca or Wolf, Shemanita or Snake, Athelwakesecah or Yellow Clouds, Pemthewtew or Perry, Cacalawa or End of the Tail, Quelawee, War Chief, Sacachewa, Werewela, Wasawetah or Brighthorn, Otharasa or Yellow, Tepeteseca, Newahetucca, Ca-awaricho, Thacatchewa, Silochaheca, Tapea or Sanders, Mesherawah, Toleapea, Pocheeaw, Alawemetahuck Lollaway or John Perry, Wawelame, Nemecashe, Nerupeneshequah or Cornstalk, Shi She, Shealawhe, Naruskaka, Thacaska or David McNair, Shapukoha, Quacowawnee, Necoshecu, Thucuscu or Jim Bluejacket, Chowelaseca, Quhaho, Kayketchheka or William Perry, Sewapeu, Peetah or Davy Baker, Skapoawah or George McDougal, Chepocuru, Shema or Sam, Cheahaska or Captain Tommy, General Wayne, Thaway, Othawee, Wearecah, Captain Reed, Lawaytucheh or John Wolf, Tecutie or George, Skekacumpskekaw, Wishemaw, Muywaymanotreka, Quaskee, Thoswa, Baptiste, Maywealiupe Perea Cumme, Chochkelake or Dam, Kewapea, Egatacumshequa, Walupe, Aquashequah, Pemata, Nepaho, Tapesheka, Lathowaynoma, Sawacota or Yellow Clouds, Memhisheka, Ashelukah, Ohipwah, Thapaseca, Chucatuh, Nekakeka, Thithueculu, Pelaculbe, Pelaske, Shesholou, Quanako, Halkoota, Laughshena, Capawah, Ethewacase, Quahethu, Capia, Thucatvouwah or The Man going up Hill, Magathu, Tecumtequa, Tetecopatha, Kekusthe, Sheatwah, Shealewarron, Haghkela, Akapee or Heap up anything, Lamatothe, Kesha, Panhoar Penitchthamtah, Peter Cornstalk, Metchepeta, Capea, Shugunme, Wawalepeshecco, Calequa, Tetotu, Tashishee, Nawebesheco or White Feather, Sheperkiscoshe, Notekah, Shemakih, Pesheto, Theatsheta, Milhametche, Chacca, Lawathska, Pachetah, Awaybariskeecaw, Hatocumo, Thomasheshawkah, Pepacoshe, Oshashe, Quelaoshu, Mewithaquiu, Aguepeh, Quellime."

The schedule of the Hog Creek band now follows, who are each to have an equal part of the reserve there: Peartchtha, Onawaskine, Pamathawah or George Williams, Wapeskeka, Lethew, Pahawcau, Shinagawmashe, Nequakabuchka, Peliska, Ketuchepa, Lawetcheto, Epaunnee, Kanakhih, Jose or Joseph

Parks, Lawnoetuchu or Billy Parks, Shawnaha, Waymatalhaway, Ketoawsa, Sheshecopea, Locuseh, Quedaska.

The above contains the names of all the males belonging to the Shawnees who resided at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek, over the age of twenty-one years, in 1817—of which one hundred and twenty-six belonged to the Wapaughkonnetta band, and twenty-one to that of Hog Creek.

In these tracts of land there were allowed for each male person of the Wapaughkonnetta band, about five hundred and nine acres each, and those of Hog Creek, about, or nearly, one thousand acres each; but it is a remarkable fact, and ought to be to the credit of this people, that when the pay for their land was at last received—it being in the year 1853 that the last payment was made—those of Hog Creek made no claim only to an equal part with the others, in accordance with their numbers. I doubt such a result by the white people, under like circumstances. In this is exhibited the Indian character in such matters.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ALTHOUGH the account contained in the following narrative is fully substantiated by the writer's own character, where he is known, as he is a man of truth at all times, and altogether incapable of uttering one word but the truth; and by John Johnston's certificate appended thereto, as he is one of the best of men, I have myself, heard the blacksmith and his son, who are alluded to, relate the whole circumstance, very nearly as the writer has in his narrative.

NARRATIVE.

In the autumn of 1819, a member of the Society of Friends, removed with a part of his family, as superintendent of the mills, etc. erected for the benefit of the Shawnees at Wapaughkonnetta, in the State of Ohio. Before this time, however, he had visited the place several times, and had been sent there by the committee having charge of the Indians, to take those mills off the hands of the contractors, so that he had become well known to a number of the chiefs, and others of the Shawnee nation, as well as to become acquainted with his valued friend, John Johnston, then agent for the Indians in the northwest.

It was, I believe, in the following spring, that one of those Indians, whom the Friend believed to be a sober, well-inclined man, became very much enfeebled and debilitated with, what he believed to be, "pulmonary consumption." He often visited him; often he was confined to his house, for the purpose of administering medicine, or taking him nourishment. On going to his house, on one of these occasions, he found the door shut and fastened, so that he could not enter; but, after a time, it was opened, and on going in, he found the sick man lying on his face, his back bare, and body cut in several places; he had bled much, and was nearly exhausted.

There was with him in the house a noted Indian, whose name I do not now remember, but the Friend knew personally. The Indian called him their Prophet, and he claimed to be twin brother to the celebrated chief, Tecumseh. The Friend then quietly inquired the reason of such a course of treatment toward the sick man, and was informed by the prophet, that the man was bewitched, and that he had made these incisions for extracting the combustible matter, which the witch had thrown into him. On hearing this assertion, the Friend told him that there was no such thing as witch, or witchcraft, and that he had wounded the poor man sorely, and bade him begone. He commenced dressing the wounds, and in a short time the prophet returned, apparently much provoked. Late on the night following, the Friend was aroused by some one at his door wishing to get in, and at the same time, exclaiming in broken

English, "They kill-ee me; they kill-ee me!" The Friend, on opening the door, found the applicant to be an Indian woman with her little daughter, some ten years old. On going with her to the United States interpreter, who lived near, she told him that a little messenger had come to her house and informed her privately that the chiefs were then in council, and that she was certainly condemned to die, on a charge of having bewitched the sick man before-mentioned, and she had come to the "Qua-kee-lee" (Quaker,) for protection.

The Friend not having full confidence in their interpreter, only remarked to the woman, "that if he attempted to protect her on such an occasion, he thought it would be at the risk not only of his own life, but also that of his family." He, however, quickly procured another interpreter, the son of the United States blacksmith, a person in whom he could rely on such an occasion; and having another interview with the woman, she gave them the same relation in regard to her situation, and promised very cheerfully, that if the "Qua-kee-lee" would undertake to protect her, she would obey in all things of which they could give her an understanding. During this short interval, the Friend had matured a plan of operation, which he disclosed, as follows: That if they could keep the woman and her child concealed through the coming day, and he could procure the necessary reliable assistance, he would send them direct to his old neighborhood, more than one hundred miles distant. To this proposition, the poor woman readily consented, fully believing, that if she should be found, she would be executed; and the blacksmith promptly entering into his views, cheerfully proffered all the assistance in his power.

The subject of keeping her and her little daughter sufficiently concealed through the coming day, was now a question of the deepest interest to all present or concerned in the matter, and as the morn now drew near, it was necessary that this should be attended to quickly. They were therefore taken to the upper chamber of the dwelling, (which was one-and-a-half story high,) and placed between two beds on the bedstead, and the covering carefully spread, as though nothing was there more than the lone bed. There they were to remain, and actually *did*, through the following day. A small dog, which had during the night kept close to her side, and which the Friend believed, if discovered by the Indians, would betray them, was immediately dispatched by his own hands. I believe, before the middle of the day the mills, the stables, meat-house, dwelling, and even the chamber where the poor woman lay concealed, were each carefully searched by Indians, who doubtless had been sent by the chiefs for that purpose.

Toward the middle of the day—and to that family especially, one of deep anxiety—came the chief, We-as-se-cah, (Capt. Wolf,) a noble-spirited man, and in many respects, an ornament to his nation, and informed the superintendent privately, of what had recently taken place among them, as though he did not at all suspect that his friend knew anything about it. The Friend gladly embraced the opportunity of unfolding his mind to this chief, on the subject of witches and witchcraft, and simplifying his language to the understanding of the man, he earnestly expostulated with him on the cruelty and inhumanity of their practice of frequently putting their subjects to death, on a bare charge of this kind. We-as-se-cah left him apparently somewhat confused or disturbed, to find that he and his friend should entertain such conflicting views, on what before, had seemed to him so important a matter. About an hour after this interview, he returned, and in private, expressed a strong conviction that the Friend knew more of the facts in the case than he before was aware of, and questioned him so closely relative to the woman, that he doubtless manifested symptoms of fear of being detected, and a willingness to wave the subject; on seeing which, the chief voluntarily told him that he need not be afraid to tell him all he knew about it, and labored to assure him, that so far from betraying him, he would protect him to the utmost of his ability. As the Friend had long reposed much confidence in this chief, he now felt the conviction very forcibly, that if he could only so work upon his feelings as to secure his influence and assistance, that this very trying affair might be brought to a peaceable and satisfactory conclusion; though, under all the circumstances of the case, it seemed like "hoping against hope." He, however, ventured to say to We-as-se-cah, that he believed the woman whom they had just condemned to die, and for whom, the

Indians had been making diligent search, was out of their reach, and that he thought they never would see her face again, unless they altogether abandoned the idea of executing her; and, further, that he had thought as soon as he could bring it about, he would take his family and go home, and abandon the mission entirely.

At this rather unlooked-for disclosure, the chief manifested some surprise, and was for a time, much absorbed in thought; but recovering himself a little, he told the Friend that the chiefs were then in session at the council-house, and proposed, that if he would accompany him there, and then promise the chiefs that he would be answerable for the woman, he believed that he would influence them to agree that she should not be put to death. This was just what the Friend desired, but to accomplish it he believed, would prove the trial of his faith. On making his prospects known to his family, some of whom manifested the deepest interest for their welfare in general, and for him in particular, he calmly expressed his belief, that if he was faithful in the discharge of his whole duty on this trying occasion, He, whose protecting care he had often witnessed to be near, would not forsake him in time of need.

I believe it is not saying too much to state, that some of the members of the family who are still living, now, after a lapse of more than thirty years, often, very often, remember the transactions of that eventful day, with feelings of humility and gratitude.

The Friend waited on the blacksmith heretofore alluded to, informed him of what had passed between himself and the chief, (Capt. Wolf,) and requested the assistance of his youthful son as interpreter. This man, knowing the practice of the Indians on such occasions, after expressing some doubts of success, remarked, that "as he had resolved in the beginning to assist in this difficult affair, he was willing to go with them."

Accordingly these four individuals repaired to the council-house, where they met twenty or more of the chiefs and head men of the nation. On entering the door, Capt. Wolf, in a commanding tone, bade them "be still and hear;" he then briefly told the occasion of their sudden appearance among them, and in a short speech, rehearsed to them the several interviews between himself and his friend; and finally told him the proposition he had made to his friend, the "Qua-kee-lee," on hearing which, they began to move around and converse among themselves, and a number of them being painted, and having more or less arms about them, they began indeed to present a hostile and formidable appearance.

The Friend, who with the rest of his company, had been standing silent spectators, now addressed them through his interpreter, with a remarkably composed and dispassionate manner and countenance, informing them that he had come with his friends We-as-se-cah and Sim-me-ta, (blacksmith,) to intercede for the life of the woman whom they had condemned to die; but seeing they had determined to pursue their own course, he felt resigned and prepared to offer himself in her stead; that he was now there unarmed, and entirely at their mercy; and that he supposed they would have to take him and do with him as they saw proper. On hearing this last sentence, Capt. Wolf, who all this time had been standing near, now stepped close to the Friend, and took hold of his arm, expressing at the same time, in language and tone, and with a countenance not to be mistaken, "Me Qua-kee-lee friend," and then called upon the chiefs most impartially, not to suffer their friend, the Quaker, to be in the least harmed or molested; and that "if they were still determined not to submit to the proposition, he was ready to offer his own life instead of his friend's."

This unlooked-for, yet spirited and courageous movement of their noble chief, whose purpose could no longer be misunderstood nor easily thwarted, as well as the composed resignation and Christian firmness of the Friend whose compassionate eye had been overlooking them, and whose feeling heart had yearned toward them with all the affection and tenderness of a parent, seemed for a time to check every movement, and indeed, to change the countenances of some of the most ferocious among them.

At this critical stage of the business, when wonder and amazement had taken hold of them, and when probably no one present could foresee the result, the chiefs, one by one, to the number of six or eight, walked deliberately up to the Friend, and with countenances that bespoke the purest friendship, each in his turn offered his hand; and such of them as could speak some English, repeated at the same time, "Me Quakee-lee friend! me Qua-kee-lee friend."

The United States blacksmith also embraced the opportunity of showing them that *he* too, was the "Quaker friend;" so that the Friend was closely surrounded by a number, some of whom, but a moment before, were apparently enemies in a hostile attitude, but who now greeted him as their friend.

As soon as these feelings, produced by the impulse of the moment, had a little subsided, and some order was restored, Capt. Wolf began to address his people in an eloquent and powerful manner, during which, he told them that "the woman whom they had so incautiously condemned the evening before, by some means unknown to them all, had disappeared, and though the most diligent search had been made, no trace of her could be found; that if his Quaker friend had sent her to the white people for protection, and they (the chiefs,) did not pardon and recall her, it would indeed, be a lasting disgrace to their nation, and that if their friend, the Quaker, should, for this reason, break up the mission that had been begun, and thus far carried on to their (the Indians) entire benefit, to whom, then, shall we look for help?"

This able address, of which the above few sentences constitute but a small part, delivered, as it was, in feeling and affectionate language, truly wrought out a desirable and most satisfactory result; so that after a short discussion among themselves, the whole council, I believe to a man, (except the before-mentioned prophet, who, about this time, left them in disgust,) came forward and cheerfully offered their hands in token of friendship; and there unitedly, as with the voice of one man, solemnly promised that if the Friend would restore the woman to her people, she should be protected by them, and then called on their old friend, the blacksmith, to witness the covenant they had made; to this he readily assented, and told them that he should not only stand as witness to this, but as surety to the faithful performance on the part of his friend, the Quaker. The Friend and his companion (Capt. Wolf going with them) now returned to his anxious family, relieved of a burden, which, for near twenty-four hours, he had borne with great weight upon his patient brow, he also bore the glad tidings to them that the woman was pardoned, and his own life spared.

In company with the interpreter he soon repaired to the chamber where the woman quietly lay concealed, and briefly told her what had been effected in her behalf. On hearing which she burst into tears, and exclaimed, in broken English: "They will kill-ee me—they will kill-ee me!"

After a suitable pause Capt. Wolf was admitted to the chamber, who told her, in a pleasant manner, "to be no longer doubting, but believe what had been told her." He then, in his own language and native eloquence, narrated to her all that had transpired, not only in the council of the chiefs, but also between himself and their mutual friend, the "Quaker," and labored much to assure her of the truth that she was pardoned.

Notwithstanding all this, the poor woman remained in the family some time, and for several days was afraid to be seen by her people; but she afterward returned to her own house, where she lived for several years, and, as was believed by her own friends, died a natural death.

The warmest friendship, closest attachment, and nearest intimacy subsisted between the Friend and this most excellent chief, for several years, or until the death of the former; he never permitted the chief to decide upon any important question without first consulting his Quaker friend.

The writer often heard the superintendent speak with manifest emotions of humility and gratitude toward the all-wise Creator, testifying that, "had not divine power interposed," he never could have achieved what he did with the wild savages; and if the Everlasting Arm had not been underneath, to support him, he should certainly have fallen under such great and daring burdens. This short narrative may be properly closed, with the relation of a part intimately connected with it.

In the autumn of 1825, this devoted Friend again removed with his family to the Friends' School Establishment, five miles south of Wapaughkonnetta, for the purpose of resuming the school which had been previously dismissed by the committee, partly in consequence of the unsettled condition of the Indians.

Shortly after the school was put in operation, his old and long-tried friend, the Indian agent, called to see him. They spent several hours very agreeably together, conversing freely on various subjects connected with Indian affairs. In the course of this very interesting interview the Friend remarked, that he found some of the Indians in a very unsettled condition, and desirous to see their lands, and remove over the Mississippi; that in consequence of this he had resumed the school and his labors among them, under much discouragements; that it appeared to him, while they remained in that state of mind, little permanent good could be done them; and should they, erelong, be removed to the far west, and locate among the wild Indians of the wilderness, it seemed to him that the labor of the Friends would soon be entirely lost.

The writer of this article being then present, still vividly recollects the glow of countenance and animated language and manner of that exultant man, the agent, when he replied nearly as follows:

"For your encouragement, friend, I feel bound to tell you the honest conviction of my own mind, that if the labor of the Friends has done no other good, the simple fact that, by your individual exertions and faithfulness, in saving the life of Polly Butler, you have so completely broken up the heathenish practice that once existed, of frequently putting their people to death for witchcraft, is sufficient to reward you for all the labor spent. For," continued he, "I have never known an instance of one of them being put to death, on a similar charge, since that memorable day, 6th month, 1823."

The foregoing narrative being submitted to John Johnston, he returned the following reply:

"Polly Butler, charged with being a witch in the Shawnee nation—the principal subject in the preceding 'narrative'—and who was saved from that violent death, by the timely, firm, and persevering efforts of Isaac Harvey, who then had the charge over the Friends' Shawnee Mission, at Wapaughkonnetta, Ohio, was the daughter of General Richard Butler, by a Shawnee woman. A son, also, was an offspring of the same union, who became a distinguished chief in peace and war among the Shawnees—being in authority during the whole of my agency over this nation—a period of almost thirty years. General Butler was an Indian trader before the revolutionary war, and spoke the language of the natives, and, as was customary with persons of those pursuits, took an Indian woman to wife. His son and daughter bear a striking resemblance to the Butler family, many of whom I knew in early life.

"The general was second in command, in the army under St. Clair, and was killed on the fourth of November, 1791, in battle with the combined Indians of the North-west, on the ground on which Fort Recovery was afterward built, distant from Greenville fourteen miles.

"Witchcraft was universally believed in by all the Indian tribes. The foregoing narrative is substantially true.

"JOHN JOHNSTON,

"Formerly Agent of Indian affairs in the North-west, and U. S. Commissioner.

"Dayton, Ohio, *October* 17, 1853."

CHAPTER XXIX.

In the year 1825, Governor Clark purchased of the Shawnees who were settled on Cape Girardeau, on the Carondelet grant, all the land they held there, being twenty-five miles square, for a tract of fifty miles square (or equal to fifty miles square) on the Kanzas river, and gives them fourteen thousand dollars for their improvements beside. In this treaty it was provided that this tract of fifty miles square should belong to the Shawnees of Missouri, and to those of the same tribe then in Ohio who might wish to emigrate to that country.

CHAPTER XXX.

In 1830, I undertook the charge of the Friends' School among the Shawnees, near Wapaughkonnetta, and removed there with my family. I soon became very intimately acquainted with many of them; found them an uncommonly pleasant and lively people—always in a pleasant humor, kind to each other, and great lovers and practicers of sport. Nothing but death or some other severe misfortune ever changes their countenances.

They kept up as large a school as we could accommodate, while among them, and took much interest in rearing their children and advancing them in useful knowledge. After we had lived for some time among them, their old and faithful chief, the Blackhoof, died. This was a grievous and sore trial to them. He was their great chief—they would trust him—he had been a chief for three-fourths of a century, and had never betrayed the trust reposed in him. He could tell them of their history for nearly, or quite a century, from his own knowledge—being, when he died, about one hundred and twenty years old. He was in the expedition which defeated Gen. Braddock, and in many battles afterward; always an advocate for his own nation.

This little daughter, mentioned as being with Polly Butler, at the time she fled to the Friend for the protection of her life, is now, 1854, living in the Shawnee nation, married to one of the best men in that tribe, and is the mother of a large family. Her husband has a large, good farm, good houses, out-buildings, orchard, stock, farming utensils, etc., and she has a well-furnished household and furniture, neatly arranged and kept in nice order. They sell a large amount of surplus produce annually, and constantly have money loaned out at interest. She is a good-looking, intelligent, and nice woman.

It is in honor to our friend, Isaac Harvey, to say, that he was the first man who ever made any proficiency in arresting this evil, and this he effected by his firm, undaunted, and Christian, patient labors with them. Often he had, by his kindness, obtained their love and confidence, as well as to take a firm course with them in regard to the use of whisky; and to this day, they speak of him with many warm feelings of love and gratitude.

Nothing more of interest occurred in regard to the Shawnees, but their continued advancement in the arts of civilization, and in giving up their children to be educated at school, which was continued for several years on their reservation at Wapaughkonnetta, until some bad white men persuaded the young men to believe that, if the Quakers continued to make improvements on their lands, the white people would take it from them; which coming to the knowledge of the Society, there was a considerable tract of land entered from the government at the expense of the Society, buildings were erected, a farm opened, and a school established about five miles south of Wapaughkonnetta, until the Shawnees left their homes for the country west of the Missouri.

His being an old chief, they buried him in the Indian manner; being present upon that occasion, I was very much struck with the solemn and disconsolate appearance of all classes of the Shawnees. They had for many years looked to the experienced chief, in peace and war. He was of such an age that recollections carried him back to the men who had, in 1682, made the great treaty at Philadelphia, and with a clear recollection of these transactions, encouraged the people of his nation in becoming a civilized people.

On arriving at the residence of the deceased chief, on the day the funeral was to take place, we found the corpse wrapped in a clean, new Indian blanket, and a large quantity of fine new goods, such as calico, belts, ribbons, etc., around and about the corpse, which was laid upon a new, clean slab prepared for the purpose—his gun, tomahawk, knife, and pipe lying by his side. All the Indians present, and there was a large number of them, had their clothes hanging loose around them, their hair also down about their shoulders in the loosest manner—many of them having their faces painted in the ancient Indian style. All the men were smoking, all classes were seated near where their ancient, beloved, and faithful chief was laid. He, who had been their leader and counselor in peace and war, was lying lifeless there before them. They had their eyes set on him in solemn silence—not one word was spoken for hours in that large concourse of people—all felt their bereavement in the loss of him—tears were to be seen in every eye. No one could distinguish between his own children (a number of them being present) and others; all grieved alike the departure of the great chief; no affectation, but real, heartfelt grief; as of a group of children for the loss of an only parent, and no one left to look up to.

In the yard, in front of the cabin of the deceased, was a very large quantity of meat from wild animals, such as deer, turkeys, etc., the spoil of a two days' hunt by young men selected for that express purpose. Twenty deer were killed, beside a large number of turkeys and what smaller wild animals they considered fit to eat—no tame animal or fowl was suffered to be eaten on that occasion, though there was a large quantity of bread prepared. All this vast amount of provision lay in one pile, stacked up handsomely together, and carefully guarded by some boys, so nothing should molest it. Although the Indians, on ordinary occasions, always have a large number of dogs with them at their gatherings, here was scarcely one to be seen. At the arrival of the time to proceed to the grave with the corpse, a few of the choice young men, provided for deceased, arranged the clothing about the body, took four large straps, and placing them under it—one taking hold of each end—started off directly to the place of its final rest. No child was taken along in the procession; my wife had her babe with her; when about starting, an Indian woman offered to keep it for her, which she did, as they feared it might make a noise. The children of the deceased proceeded next the corpse, then the head chief, who was to succeed the Black-hoof in that office, then the other chiefs in succession, then ourselves, and after us, came the whole company. On arriving at the grave they all gathered round in a group. The grave was about three-and-a-half feet deep—at the bottom a split puncheon was placed, and one set on the edge at each side, about ten inches wide; the corpse was let down, the clothing of the deceased, which he last wore when in health, laid on his body, when his old moccasins were cut in pieces and placed with the rest, but no weapon was put in; then another puncheon was laid over him. This being done, John Perry, head chief, took some small seeds from a cloth, and, commencing at the head of the grave, walked carefully around it, sprinkling them all over it as he went; this done, he set off on the path directly to the house, and in this was followed by all present, except three men, who remained to close the grave. After this was finished, the men went toward the creek, and in about half an hour returned to the house. On their return, the smoking and conversation commenced.

When the company started from the grave, they moved in single file, one after another, not one looking back. On the arrival of those who had filled up the grave, I observed them to commence conversation. I inquired of Henry Clay, one of them, and also a chief, what they went to the water for?

He replied, "that as I was their friend, he would tell me; it was to purify themselves by puking, and washing their bodies."

Soon as they had smoked around the company, they commenced their feast, but it being now late in the day, they pleaded with us to remain and partake with them—still we were compelled to leave for home, which was about ten miles.

We attended on this occasion, at the particular request of the chiefs, and I can say truly, that this was altogether the most solemn and orderly funeral I have ever attended; and was said to be conducted entirely after their ancient Indian style. We were the only white people present.

The Shawnees were in a great strait about the time their great chief was taken from them. He, who was the bearer of the remarkable letter of Thos. Jefferson, in 1802, to his people; had visited Washington City and Philadelphia on that occasion, had lived to hear the demand again made for their land; but before that act was consummated, he was gathered to his fathers, in *Heaven.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

A FEW weeks previous to the death of Blackhoof, in the year 1831, a message was received from the Indian agent for the Shawnees, who resided at Columbus, Ohio, stating to the chiefs, that a commissioner, by the name of Gardner, would be at Wapaughkonnetta in a few days, to make proposals to them for the purchase of their lands. This was the first intimation of the kind that had ever reached their ears since this land had been ceded to them; neither had they any expectation of ever selling. The message surprised them, and although it was what they had always dreaded, and indeed, expected, judging from the past, yet they had no reason to look for such a course, if any confidence was to be placed in the American government, on account of the assurances they had so repeatedly made to them of forever remaining in the unmolested ownership of this land, and this pledge, made, too, as a guarantee to them, in order to induce them to improve their land, and thus to change their manner of life.

On the receipt of this intelligence, the Shawnees were thrown into the greatest confusion. The chiefs came to see me, and to counsel with me on the subject. I could scarcely believe the report myself, as I could not believe that our government would be so utterly regardless of the plighted faith of the nation, in order to procure to itself, at the expense of this handful of Indians, so small a tract of country; and I told the chiefs so, and that if they would refuse to sell, that I believed government would give the matter up entirely, and advised them to take that course. But my advice to them did not prevail, although at the time, they concluded to take that course, and to send him word not to come on their land with any such proposals, as they would not meet him.

But, alas for them! they had to encounter a hard and reckless set of traders. These men had claims against them, and wanted money. They just told the Indians in plain English, that they wanted money, and would have it; that they must now sell their land, and pay *them* up, and more still, they offered them large bribes (that is the chiefs,) to induce them to sell, expecting to get most of the money, regardless of what might become of the Indians after they had fleeced them.

In a few days the commissioner sent the chiefs a written notice, informing them that he would be at Wapaughkonnetta on a certain day, and desired the chiefs to meet him there, at the time proposed.

Nothing could exceed the confusion that prevailed from that time until the arrival of Gardner.

At the time appointed, the commissioner arrived. The chiefs and head men met him in a general council.

Now, as it has been a matter of surprise with many people how such an ingenious and sagacious people as the Indians are, could be so easily prevailed upon to dispose of their favorite homes, contrary to their wills, and not only that, but get so badly cheated as they always do, as I was present throughout the whole of the counselling in regard to this land sale, as well as a witness to the treaty, and took down in writing at the time an account of the whole proceedings, and being afterward called upon by the government officers to testify to the facts in regard to the treaty on several occasions, I have concluded to insert the whole of it here, so that any who may wish to know how Indians have been treated with, may see in what manner these poor confiding people were dealt with, in order to obtain from them their lands in Ohio; and the account I give here, is the same as was contained in my testimony before the committee of Congress, upon which, the acts of that body were based, in which relief was afforded to the Shawnees on that account.

On opening the council, the United States interpreter, an aged Frenchman, who had been the interpreter in many treaties under Governor Cass and John Johnston, and who was by them considered to be very trustworthy, was, by Gardner, set aside, and another man, who, he imagined, would suit him better, was appointed in his place in that treaty, as he was well aware, that to effect his object, which was to buy those Indians out, and that for a very trifle, he would need the assistance of some one who could manage the business in almost any shape in which he might form his negotiations. The old interpreter would have been the choice of the Indians, and as he was the United States interpreter, and a good scholar, one would suppose he ought to have been preferred; but to end any quibbling about these matters, this old Frenchman got drunk, I suppose, on the brandy which the commissioner had for his own private use, and for other purposes during the treaty, and that settled the question as to the propriety of excusing him from the task.

The commissioner first read a part of his instructions from the President through the Secretary of War, but not all. He then commenced his speech about noon, and continued it until evening without coming to a close, and finished next morning. During his speech he told the Indians that they were in a deplorable condition, surrounded by bad white people now, and likely soon to be in a much worse condition; that the white people were now selling them whisky which was ruining them; that the game was nearly all gone; that worse than all this, the State of Ohio would soon extend her laws over them, and, in order that they might know the real condition they would be in, he could tell them what those laws would be. He said the laws would compel them to pay tax for the benefit of the white people, and allow them no advantages under those laws, or from the money thus paid by them; that the laws would compel them to work on the public roads two days in each year; that the laws would be so made that the white people might swear to debts against the Indians and collect them, but that none of them would be allowed to collect a debt by law, unless they could prove it by a white man: that white men might turn horses and cattle in their grain-fields and destroy it all, but unless they could prove the facts by a white person, they would have no remedy; that they might be beaten or killed by white men—no matter how many Indians present—unless they could prove it by a white man, they had, or would have, no remedy. And many other things he said to them in order, no doubt, to induce them to sell on almost any terms he might wish to offer to them, which, when through with these things, he declared that just in that way Georgia had treated the Cherokees; and again assured them that, as sure as they remained here, that the State of Ohio would do as Georgia had done; that it was a right which was guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, and that Congress would not interfere but leave to the State the right to regulate their own affairs as they might see proper, etc.

After he had thus got them alarmed, in regard to their present and future condition, in case they concluded to adhere to their former resolution of remaining in Ohio, he said he would now tell them that, in case they would *now* sell their land and go west, that their great father, General Jackson, would make them rich. He told them that there was a good rich country laid off for all the Indians to remove to, west of the State of Missouri, purposely for them, which never would be within any state or territory of the United States; where there was plenty of buffalo, elk, and deer; where they could live well without working at all.

He told them that if they would now sell their land in Ohio, that the government would give them in exchange, for the land they held in Ohio, one hundred thousand acres of good land, which should be laid off adjoining the tract of fifty miles square, which was ceded to their brethren, the Shawnees, of Missouri, by Governor Clark, at St. Louis, in the year 1825, and on which they were living. That if they should agree now to sell, that government would send a surveyor out with them when they removed there, and that they might select the land he now offered them near the Shawnees, who are already there; that the surveyor would at once survey and mark it out for them, and that government would make them a good general warranty-deed for it, so they should hold it forever.

That as the United States (said he) wanted their land, they were willing that the Shawnees should have all it could be sold for, over and above the cost of surveying and selling it and the cost of removing and feeding them at their new homes, for one year after their arrival in that country; that as their friends, the Quakers, had erected a grist-mill and saw-mill at Wapaughkonnetta for them, free of cost to the government, the United States would build, at its own expense, good mills in their new country, in lieu of those they have in Ohio, and pay the Indians in cash, the amount of what good men may adjudge their improvements to be worth, in order to enable them to make improvements at their new homes, and that government would give them guns, to kill the game in the prairies; also, tools of every description to work with, and all their lands being over seventy cents per acre the Indians should have, which should be placed in the United States treasury, and five per cent. interest paid them annually, until they may wish to draw the whole sum.

He concluded by declaring that the Indians never had been honestly treated with, by any man in the United States; though, said he, he knew that the Indians and whites too generally made one exception, and that was, Wm. Penn; but Gardner declared that Penn had basely cheated the Indians out of their lands, and acted no better than a horse-thief. He declared, in conclusion, that if they would now sell their land, that the government would make them rich; then told them he would leave them and return in about four weeks, when they could return their answer.

The Shawnees were much divided about selling; those of them who had made the greatest advancement in improvement were all opposed to the idea of leaving their homes; but such as were idle, dissipated fellows urged the measure—and those backed by the traders with bribes, outnumbered the others, and word was conveyed, by a few of the chiefs to the commissioner, to come on and close the contract. He accordingly attended, and on the chiefs again assembling, he renewed the same offer as before, and urged them strongly to sell. He told them, among other things, that they ought always to listen to the advices of the white people, because they were wiser than the red people, as the red people were wiser than the blacks. He said the Great Spirit created them so, as their complexion plainly showed, and more of the like; after again talking the whole day, he concluded in the evening.

Wayweleapy, the Shawnees' speaker, replied the next day. He informed the commissioner that he had never talked more than two days to them; had said many things that were very good, but had again said some things that were not very good. He had said a good deal about the Great Spirit. Now, for his own part, he said, he did not pretend to know much about so great a being, neither did he intend to make a long speech, like the commissioner had done; but he did not think that his friend knew much about the Great Spirit, from the notions he seems to have about Him. Now, said Wayweleapy, I believe that the Great Spirit made all men alike, but my friend thinks He made three distinct classes of men. He says, to the white man he gave a white skin and a great deal of sense; to the Indian, a red skin, and a little less sense; and to the negro, a black skin, and very little sense. Now, said he, is not this a very curious idea about our great Creator? For my part, he continued, I have no such notions at all in my head; I believe no such things at all about that great being. He said he believed that the Great

Spirit created all men alike, of the same blood, but if he did, as his friend had said, create them so very different that one race was so much superior to the others, how had he found out that it was his own race that was so much wiser than the others were? for his part he did not believe it; but if true, it was very likely that it was the Indians who had the most sense given them. But for his part, he believed, as he said before, that all men were created alike, but that they became very wicked and very dark for a long time, but at length God placed a great ball of fire in the east (pointing in that direction), which rose higher and higher, and dispelled the darkness, and when it arrived at the highest point in the heavens, burst and entered into every one's heart—and from that time, every one is enlightened, and we are still all on the same equality. These, he said, were his notions about the matter.

He then told the commissioner that the Shawnees had agreed to sell their land, if he would give them for it what he had offered them, and in addition, would pay their debts, which was common in Indian treaties.

The commissioner informed the Indians that he would have a clause in the treaty binding the government to pay all their debts; that he would not say what amount was due from them, that that was not his business, but he would leave that to the chiefs, and all the debts which they should acknowledge to be just, the government would pay out of its own money, and not take one cent from the Shawnees.

He then told the chiefs that he had the treaty all drawn up in order, that it was very long, and as it was then late in the day, there would not be time to read it over, but declared that it did contain what he had offered them in every particular. He asked them to come forward and sign it, but they hesitated for a long time, and appeared to fear that all was not right, or he would have read to them the treaty before asking them to sign it, but at length they signed the instrument; but to the last, they were very obstinate relative to the payment of their debts. Now they were more resolute in this matter of having their debts paid, than on any other subject connected with the treaty. They were well trained to it by traders, who paid some of the chiefs well to hold on to these debts to the last, and made them believe that, by government assuming the payments, Indians would be none the losers, as all would come off government. So obedient were they in this matter, and so anxious was the commissioner to bring the negotiations to a close, that there was no time allowed to go into an examination of the claims, but the traders (some of them) drew up a bond, amounting to twenty thousand dollars, on the chiefs, which they acknowledged to be a just demand against the nation, and which bond and acknowledgment were indorsed by the commissioner and agent when all the parties, it was said, were in a state of intoxication, except some of those wily traders who had now got their large, and, no doubt, unjust demands secured, and who, lest their deeds should one day be brought to light, burnt up all their books, and fortified their claims behind this bond and the certificates of these drunken government officers, and they got their pay, which will be seen in the sequel, and that, too, out of the Shawnees' money, and without their consent.

In a day or two after the treaty was closed the commissioner left the place, but soon rumors were afloat among the Shawnees that the commissioner had cheated them badly in the treaty, and one thing became public, that the trader, who had so snugly headed the commissioner in his claim, presented his demand against the government in this Indian bond with the commissioner's and agent's approval indorsed, and demanded payment, which was at once refused, as these men, by this time, had become sober. Then the trader at once returned to the chiefs and demanded his pay of them.

Shortly after the departure of the commissioner, word reached the Shawnees from almost every source, that they were grossly deceived and cheated in their treaty, in almost every particular, in regard to the sale of their land; which was confirmed by an extract the commissioner furnished to me, by which, as shown in that extract, they were to fall very far short of receiving what they expected for their land, and in fact, not to receive one acre of land where they were going, to which they had not a right to under a former treaty. This threw them into the greatest confusion imaginable. John Perry, an aged man and the head chief, came to see me on the occasion. He cried like a child, when I told him that it had turned out about as I told them it would, if they should go into a treaty with Gardiner, on his first message being received; that he had taken their land from them for nothing, and of that they might now rest assured. He told me that now they were a ruined people forever, unless they could get some assistance from the Quakers. I told him I had a clear account of the whole proceedings of the treaty, which I had kept in writing, and that, as I was one of the witnesses to the treaty, I would be allowed to be a witness for them.

On the meeting of the committee having in charge the Indian affairs at the Yearly Meeting at Richmond, Indiana, which took place soon after the subject was brought to the notice of the committee, this treaty so far claimed the attention of the Friends, as to direct that a full detail of it be presented at another sitting, which being done, resulted in a conclusion to make further examination, by sending a committee to Wapaughkonnetta to convene the Indians on the occasion, and hear from them the account of their grievances, and if there appeared to be any way to relieve them by such a course, to petition Congress on the subject, and ask relief for the Shawnees, and to send a deputation of Friends to Washington City to attend Congress and represent the case there.

In a short time after the rise of the Yearly Meeting, a committee, consisting of several Friends, who were well known by the Shawnees, and men of experience in Indian concerns, visited Wapaughkonnetta, (or the Friends' Mission near-by,) and called together about twenty of the principal men of the nation, with two competent interpreters, who all remained at our Mission with their horses, for about three days and nights, and were well taken care of by us during the whole time.

On their being convened in council, we first informed them, that with sorrowful hearts we all heard at our late large Yearly Meeting from their friend Henry Harvey, who was at the late treaty, that you have been cheated out of your land, and that you are all in trouble on that account; and on that account, we had called them together at this time, and were willing to assist them all we could, now when they were in trouble, and that it was in order to do our duty to them in their trouble and to our common Creator, that we were now here; but we told them that we could do nothing till we heard what their grievances were, and, that first, we wanted to hear what they had to say.

After remaining in close council entirely to themselves, nearly a whole night, early the next day, they informed us that they were ready to speak to us. When we went in, we found them all seated in order. On taking our seats in front of them, each chief arose and took us by the hand firmly, then resumed their seats. Not one word was spoken; then they passed the pipe around, and each chief smoked a few whiffs. All eyes were then fixed on the great speaker, Wayweleapy, in profound silence. I very much question, whether a more solid, thoughtful, grave, and dignified-looking company of men ever graced the American Council, than this company of Shawnee chiefs—nearly all aged men, and old, able counselors.

After a considerable pause, the speaker arose, with tears in his keen black eyes which first glanced at each of his brethren, and then he fixed them steadfastly on us, and commenced as follows, (which I took down correctly as delivered:)

He said, "My brethren and friends, it used to be so, on former occasions when we met together as we are now, that we could always thank the Great Spirit that we had the satisfaction of meeting each other in council." (Here the speaker made a solemn pause of several minutes.) He again said, "My friends;" here he again faltered, and stood motionless for some time, his eyes still fixed on us—at length, tears rolled down his manly cheek, and finally, although a man of the greatest fortitude, and noted in war as a brave soldier, he had to yield to the emotions of his own soul, and unconsciously sank back in his seat—while every eye was fixed on him with feelings not to be expressed, to see the result. He continued in a deep and profound struggle, but could not attempt again to rise. He again lifted his eyes (which were filled with tears, as were those of every one present,) to us. He took off his handkerchief, which was around his neck, unbuttoned his vest, and seemed evidently struggling to master the emotions which agitated his breast. He was then handed a pipe by Henry Clay; he smoked a few moments, confusedly handed it back again, and then arose with all the solemn dignity that could be displayed by this great man, under the subdued emotions of his soul, and proceeded. "My friends and brethren, we are now all present, and I am glad to see you. I thank the great God that you have come to see us at this time. We are all in trouble; we wanted to see you very much. You wish to know our grievances about our late treaty. We will endeavor to tell you. This treaty which we made with Gardner, we thought was made in good faith, on both sides. He spoke a great deal to us, and called upon God to be witness to what he said to us. This made us believe he was in earnest, and we put confidence in what he said, and never thought of being deceived by him. He said, he was sent to us by the President, General Jackson, and so we were willing to trust him. He made propositions to us for our lands, and we agreed to them. The treaty was not read and interpreted to us, but Gardner assured us, that it contained just what he offered us, in every particular. We thought he told us the truth, and accordingly we signed the treaty, but since then, we found out that it was not so, and that he had deceived and cheated us. This is what grieves our hearts so. We are sorry to find that it is to be the price of our farms that is to take us to our new homes. We expected no such thing—we understood plainly that the government was to be at all that expense, and that what our improvements here were worth, after being valued by good men, was to be paid us in money, to assist us in making farms at our new homes. We have good homes here, and had abundance of labor and pains to make them. We wanted good men to value our improvements, for we are not ashamed of our homes. We are surprised to hear that the treaty is not as we understood it was, in that matter. The commissioner told us that the President would provide well for our women and children in our long journey. My friends, we are in a difficult situation. We cannot let our property go in this way; if we do, we are a ruined people. Now, my friends, another thing that grieves us is, that when we see how the Delawares and Senecas have been treated, who are now on their way to the Kanzas, they are so poorly provided for. Some of them have poor, old, blind horses. Some poor women going on foot, and a large number of them furnished with only four bushels of corn-meal. We pity them, as they are our brethren; we fear that their situation will be ours, when we get ready to start on our journey. We hope this will be avoided. Another thing that grieves us is, that man Gardner promised to pay our debts; this, we find, he intends to take from our money: we cannot leave Ohio till our debts are settled. My friends, when we got this land, we were told by President Jefferson, that we never should be asked to sell it, but that, if we wished at any time to sell, that government would send a good man to purchase it of us.

"Gardner, when he came among us, said he was sent by the President, and instructed to pay us well for our land, but he has deceived us, and has failed to do so. This man, who told us that he was sent here by General Jackson, told us that such rich farming tracts, as we had here, should be furnished us by the government at our new homes; but we have since learned that they are to be paid for out of the price of our poor little reserve here—out of our poor hard-earned farm that we have been so long in making. This is too hard; they never cost the government anything, and we had no idea that the money was to be taken from us for any such thing. We had mills here that were built for us by our friends, the Quakers—they never cost the government anything—and Gardner told us that we should have good mills furnished us, in lieu of those we have here, at our new homes, but the pay for them, we now learn, is to be taken from our money for that too. What does this mean? We declare, we understood no such thing, at the time we signed the treaty.

"We have now told you what our grievances are. If we could have all these things, as we understood them at the time we made the treaty, we would be satisfied, but if not, troubles and sorrow will follow us to our far-distant homes.

"Friends and brothers, we say again that we are glad to see you here, at this time; we are glad that you are going to take part for us, for we are a poor forsaken people, and have none to look to for help but our friends, the Quakers. We hope you will succeed in your undertaking—if you do, sorrow will be removed from us. We are so rejoiced that you have come to see us, that we never, as long as we live, shall forget our feelings at this time. The world is wide, we looked all around us on every hand to find some one to help us, but we could find no one but our old friends, the Quakers. Many people will talk from their teeth out, but the manner the Quakers have always acted toward us shows plainly that they are our real friends. My brothers, I am now done speaking."

CHAPTER XXXII.

The result of the deliberations at the aforementioned council was, that a petition to Congress was prepared and signed by the chiefs, setting forth their grievances and asking that an additional compensation be allowed the Shawnees for their land in Ohio, and four chiefs were appointed, namely, John Perry (head chief), Wayweleapy, Blackhoof (or Quaskey), and Spybuck, and Francis Duchequate and Joseph Parks, interpreters, to present it. A memorial was also prepared by the committee, in behalf of the Society of Friends, asking relief from Congress for the Shawnees, and a deputation of two Friends was appointed (to wit: David Baily and myself), to conduct the Indian delegation to Washington City, to give what information we were in possession of touching the manner in which the treaty had been conducted, and to press the claim of the Shawnees on Congress and the executive. Being at the treaty myself, from the beginning to the end, having taken a correct account in writing, at the time, of everything that transpired at each stage of the proceedings, and being allowed by the commissioner to subscribe my name to the treaty as a witness, I thereby became a competent witness in behalf of the Indians, and was enabled to disclose more, by far, to establish a fraud, than all the other testimony which could be produced from other sources. The Society of Friends furnished money to defray the whole expense of the deputation, the Indians' as well as our own.

The deputation set off from our Mission about the 1st of the 12th month, 1831; a large number of the Shawnees spent the night with us and their own delegation before we started, and on taking leave of
hem, they were very sober and thoughtful about us,
nd gave us many good wishes for our welfare, and
pledged themselves to me that they would be good to
ny wife and little children, whom I was leaving in
harge of the school in my absence, and no whites
within ten miles of them except one or two families.

The deputation went by way of Mount Pleasant,
nd spent a few days there with the Friends, who
oined in our memorial to Congress; purchased stuff
nd made plenty of good clothing for the four chiefs,
nd, in many other kind offices to them, manifested
heir love and good-will to these oppressed people.
The chiefs were sensible of their kindness, and
emember it still.

We went by way of Baltimore, and the Friends
f that Yearly Meeting joined, too, in the appeal to
Congress; so that as the three Yearly Meetings of
Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana had been for years en-
eavoring to assist the Indians in the arts of civiliza-
on, at a heavy expense, which was borne by the
ociety, now when these Indians were about to lose

all they had gained for years, in the way of property, they felt it a duty they owed to them, as well as to our government, to have these wrongs redressed; and they all united in an appeal to Congress, and in bearing the expense, so that if the Indians failed to get redress, the attempt they made to procure relief, should cost them nothing.

When we arrived at Cumberland, on our way to Washington City, Francis Duchequate was taken very sick; so we had to leave him, and had no idea that he could live but a few days. It was affecting to see him take leave of the chiefs, as he told them he had been with them ever since they were little children; was then an old man, and should soon die, and he thought they would never see him any more: at parting with him they were affected into tears. His prediction was verified, as he died in a few days. He was considered to be a very honest man, and had been interpreter for many years, and in one or two instances was the means, while with the Indians, in time of war, of saving American prisoners from being burnt to death. But his great fault was, he would drink liquor, which, no doubt, brought him to his end—as he *would* drink on our way on that journey; even the afternoon before he took sick, he procured some without our knowledge, which we supposed, hastened on the disease which took him off.

On arriving at Washington City we called on Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and were introduced to him by Gen. Joseph Vance, a representative in Congress from Ohio. After making known to the secretary our business, and giving him an account of the manner in which the treaty was managed, and of the fact that the Shawnees, who were a party to that transaction, and deeply interested therein, as their all was there at stake, had never heard the treaty read, neither had they been furnished with a copy; that as one who was at the treaty, and had signed it as a witness, and was here on behalf of the Society of Friends, to assist on urging the claim of this people on the Department, I declared that I did not know what the treaty did actually contain; that, as a friend to the Shawnees, I asked the commissioner for a copy. The next day after it was signed, he gave me an extract, but was so drunk at the time that I could make no sense out of it, it was written so badly.

Cass at once ordered the clerk at the Indian bureau to furnish us with a copy in full of the treaty, and requested me, when I obtained it, to take time fully to examine the treaty, and to compare the amount they are actually to receive by the treaty, with the amount offered them by the commissioner at his first council with them, when he produced his instructions from the Department, and let him have the result of our estimates and calculations on the subject, in order that he might lay the same before the President, so that another treaty might be made with the chiefs in attendance.

In a few days we returned an account of our examination into the treaty, as requested by the secretary, and gave it as our judgment that the amount which the commissioner offered the Shawnees for their lands, at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek, exceeded the amount which they are to receive, as shown in the treaty, the sum of $115,000, and produced the data from which the calculation was made out, and told him we could prove what we had stated at any time, when allowed that privilege, and asked that we might have an opportunity to do so before the President, when we should ask to set aside this treaty and make another, with the present delegation, who were authorized to transact business for their nation. Cass approved of our plan in making a new treaty. He declared that our calculation in regard to the treaty, was very correct and moderate; and added, that by Gardner's treaty the Shawnees would not realize one dollar for their land in Ohio.

The secretary urged the President to hear us on behalf of the Shawnees, but he refused., He then proposed to make a treaty with the delegation now in attendance, and set Gardner's treaty aside; but in this he failed—the President declaring that the Shawnees should fare no better than the Cherokees did.

Although we presented to the President the letter sent to the Shawnees by Thomas Jefferson, through Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, with the gold chain, (which letter the reader may find a copy of in chapter twentieth, to which I refer,) still he could not be prevailed with, by the excellent secretary, to do anything at all in the matter; though he was very courteous and friendly with us when in his presence, yet he seemed to care very little for the Indians or their rights, no more than he did for what Thomas Jefferson had given this people reason to look for from his successors.

Being unsuccessful in our attempt with the Executive Department, in obtaining redress, we made application to Congress. The business we placed in the care of Joseph Vance, a representative from Ohio, a man of stern integrity, who was well acquainted with the Shawnees, and who had great experience in and out of Congress, and who loved to serve the Indians. My affidavit was obtained, which explained the whole proceedings in regard to the treaty. Vance failed in his first and second attempt in bringing the subject before the House; but at length got the House to refer the subject to the Committee of Ways and Means, when our memorial, and that of the Shawnees, together with the affidavit of myself, which was sworn to by Joseph Parks, also, who was Gardner's interpreter at the treaty, which resulted in the committee, through their chairman, George McDuffy, of South Carolina, reporting a bill of $30,000, in fifteen equal annual installments, as an additional compensation to the Shawnees for their Ohio lands. Our claim to Congress was for $100,000, but only asked a part at that time—being aware of the danger of the veto power, in case we asked too much at once—but we left the demand open for future action, and our memorial, etc., were left in the hands of the proper committee, to be taken up at some future day.

Soon as the business was so that we could leave Washington, Gov. Cass, secretary, paid the whole of our expense, from the time we left home, while at Washington, and until we should reach our respective homes, amounting to $640, and gave the four chiefs, in cash, $50, each, as a present, and acted in every respect with us and with the chiefs, as became his high character, as an honorable man; and so did General Vance, who from the first, interested himself very much in this matter, nor ever faltered until the matter was carried. These men will be long remembered by the Shawnees and their friends, for their goodness to them while in distress and about to leave their favored Ohio.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AT the conclusion of the treaty, Gardner informed he Shawnees that he would remove them early the next spring to their new homes, and as they had a arge number of cattle and hogs, beside a great deal of other property, that they could not take with them to their new homes, that they had better sell all except what would do them through the winter, and settle up their affairs; then in the spring their money for their improvements, and their annuity of $3000, would be paid them as they would be about to start west.

They took the advice of the commissioner, and sold about two hundred head of cattle, about twelve hundred hogs, and many other things, and with the proceeds, purchased clothing, some wagons, guns, provisions, and the like, and many of them settled up their debts with their white neighbors, so as to be in readiness to leave early in the spring following. But instead of the money being paid to them, and they being started on their journey early in the season, as they expected, they did not receive one cent of their money till fall, and were not started on their journey till about the middle of November, or, perhaps, the twentieth.

The consequence was, that they had, by spring, used up all their provision, had no money, and as they were about to leave the country, they could not get credit as formerly, and the result was, that they suffered greatly for several months for want of food.

Indeed, I saw more real suffering during that time among the Shawnees, for food, than I had ever expected to witness in my whole life.

We lived among them, had a number of them at school to clothe and feed, as well as our own family.

The Indians in their distress, would visit us daily, and beg bread for their children, for the aged people and the sick. Of course, we divided with them, as far as was in our power, but we had to haul our provision for more than thirty miles on a very bad road, after paying high prices for it, and with but limited means to buy with; that we were often hard run to save enough to secure ourselves from want, for while we had anything, we divided to the last. On finding that we could supply the demands on our charity no longer, I procured what I supposed, would last my family a few days, and concluded to take a wagon and visit the Friends on the Miami, a distance of eighty miles, and beg a load of provision for the children and old people at least, as well as for my own family. The evening before I started on this journey, two aged women from Hog Creek, a distance of about seventeen miles, came to our Mission. They informed us that there were some little sick children in their neighborhood, who were suffering for want of bread, and who would die unless they could get some soon, and that they had come all the way to our house to beg some for them. We gave them what we had, and set something for these poor, aged, hungry women, who objected to eating anything, as they said we could not spare more than we had given them to carry to these children; but we gave them supper, a good bed to lie on, and breakfast. They were tired, and we took care of them; "they were hungry, and we fed them," and sent all we dared to spare, to relieve the sick, and, oh! how their hearts were filled with thankfulness for this small favor; they took leave of my wife, (who did truly sympathize with them, and who, they well knew, almost took the bread from her own children to give it to theirs,) with tears in their eyes, and thanking her for her kindness to them. Oh! how an Indian who is in want of bread to allay hunger, can pour forth benedictions on those who relieve him.

Before leaving for this provision, I wrote to the Secretary of War, as follows:

Friends Mission for the Shawnees, Ohio, 8th month, 10th, 1832.

Esteemed Friend.—I am still here, among our friends, the Shawnees, but be assured, I am in distress. Gardner told these Indians, last summer, when he took their lands from them, that he would remove them early this spring; that as they had a large number of cattle and hogs, beside other property, they had better sell all, except what they were obliged to take with them, and what would do them through the winter, and settle up their affairs; then in the spring their money for their improvements, and their annuity of $3000, would be paid them, and they be immediately after that removed west. Well, they took his advice—it is now three months since spring, and here they are yet; their improvement money not paid, nor their annuity either; no account when they are to get any money, or when they are to start on their journey. No money, their provision all gone, and no credit. Nothing for them but suffering, and that brought on them by that man, who, after cheating them out of their land, now, to complete the business, is starving them for daring to complain against his fraudulent treaty, and starve they will, unless government shall relieve them soon.

We have done all that has been in our power, to relieve them, but what can we do for so many? I believe in all sincerity, that some of them will—they *must* starve to death, unless relief comes soon. There are now two old women at our house, who have walked seventeen miles to beg bread for poor, little, sick, starved children, and what can we do? we can scarcely keep enough to do ourselves. If the Indians are not relieved soon, I fear we shall all starve together; we cannot help sharing with them while we have anything.

I almost wish I never had seen this place. We came here at the request of the Friends, to help this people, but what are we witness to every day? people starving for food, starving almost to death, and I repeat, that *starve they will* with hunger, if not soon relieved.

I start to-morrow for Waynesville, eighty miles distant, with a wagon, to beg of the Friends a load of provisions for the children and the sick, but I fear my own family will suffer in my absence, for the Indians will be here during my stay, and my wife will divide the last morsel with them, rather than they should go away hungry.

Now, my friend, the Secretary, to whom in freedom I have thus written, I am sure, is made of better stuff than to let his old friends, the Shawnees, suffer with hunger, if it is in his power to relieve them.

I cannot but look for a favorable answer—pray do not let me be disappointed.

Believe me as ever, thy friend,
HENRY HARVEY.

LEWIS CASS, *Secretary of War*,
Washington City.

This letter was forwarded by John Johnston, with a letter inclosing mine, to Gen. Vance at Urbana, and by him inclosing both in a letter of his own, to Gov. Cass at Detroit, where he had gone on a visit to his daughter; and soon as the mail could bring the return to Piqua, Ohio, orders were received there, for at once relieving the Shawnees, and in a few days from the receipt of the order from the Secretary, about twenty beeves, and a large amount of flour and bacon was sent out by way of our Mission to

Wapaughkonnetta. The arrival of this provision was the first intimation the Shawnees had, of any relief being asked for from any source.

They all repaired to Wapaughkonnetta with their families, and had a full supply till they were ready to leave for the west, and myself and family had plenty of the same till we left, as the Shawnees did.

The Secretary certainly acted nobly in this matter, as did Gen. Vance and John Johnston, both of whom interested themselves so much in behalf of the suffering Shawnees.

On my return from Waynesville, (I may remark here,) I brought a large load of provision, which afforded some relief till Governor Cass' large supply arrived.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

As I have given an account of the manner in which this treaty was managed, I shall now make a statement of the offers the commissioner made, and the price actually to be paid them as it stands in the treaty, and any one may then be able to judge for themselves whether the rights and interests of the Shawnees were cared for or not in the arrangements made in that treaty.

Gardner offered to remove all the Shawnees comfortably to their new homes, west of Missouri, entirely at the expense of the United States, and to support them one year after their arrival in that country.

They were removed, to be sure, but it was far from being comfortably done, as many of them had to furnish their own teams and wagons, and bear a large part of the expense of the journey, and the season being so far advanced that they were overtaken by the winter long before reaching their place of destination, they consequently suffered very much. They were fed on corn and meat for one year after their arrival, but nothing else unless they procured it themselves.

He informed them that good men should be appointed to value their improvements, and every cent that they adjudged them to be worth, should be paid them in money, in order to enable them to make farms in their new country.

Instead of this course being taken, the commissioner only paid them thirteen thousand dollars for the whole of their improvements, without ever having seen a dozen of them himself, or sending any other person to examine or fix a value on them; which plainly showed that little regard was paid to the Indians. This was not half the worth of their farms, and even the sum they did receive for their improvements they had to replace to the United States by an article of the treaty, as soon as their land was sold by the government, after being surveyed.

They were, by the offers made them, to have good mills erected for them at Kanzas, in lieu of those they had in Ohio.

Government did have mills erected for them at their new homes, as proposed, but charged the Shawnees six thousand dollars for them, and got the money too.

They were to be furnished with grindstones, cross-cut saws, and a number of rifles "to shoot the buffalo, elk, and deer in their new country;" these were offered them as presents, in order to induce them to remove.

Well, according to agreement, they were furnished with those articles, but had to pay for them themselves, contrary to the agreement in that case made and provided. Their large buffalo rifles were not worth anything to them, for, contrary to information given them by the commissioner, there were no buffalo or elk within two hundred miles of their "new home," so they had no use for those guns.

They were promised houses for a blacksmith, and a blacksmith-shop, in lieu of those they had for that purpose in Ohio.

They were furnished such buildings at their new homes, but instead of receiving them in lieu of those they left in Ohio, they were charged six hundred and forty-four dollars for them, and the government got the money.

They were promised one hundred thousand acres of land adjoining the tract equal to fifty miles square, which they held under Clark's treaty of 1825, and to have a good general warranty-deed for the same, in lieu of the lands they held at Wapaughkonnetta, in Ohio.

By the treaty, as signed by these Indians without hearing it read, the government was bound to make them a deed, in fee-simple, for one hundred thousand acres of land, which was to be laid off within the tract of fifty miles square reserved to the Shawnees, in 1825, by General Clark's treaty.

By the offers made by the commissioner, there was to have been a clause added to the treaty binding the government to liquidate all the Shawnees' debts out of the money of the United States, and on this *express* condition they consented to sign the treaty.

There was no such clause ever inserted in the treaty; they were nearly all allowed by government after several years' delay, but paid out of the Shawnees' money.

The above constitute the principal items in which the Shawnees lost, in reference to this miserable treaty of 1831.

In 1832, as stated before, Congress agreed to pay them $30,000, as an additional compensation for their Ohio land. The demand they made as an additional sum for that land, when at Washington, on account of the treaty, was $100,000, this would leave yet as due them, the sum of $70,000, which they expect the government to pay them, and which, in strict justice, it is bound to do, and which, it is to be hoped, will one day be done.

Some time in the fall, the chiefs received a notice from Gardner that the sum of $13,000 was ready to be paid to them for their improvements, and requesting them to choose three of their friends to view their improvements and make a demand for the money agreeably to the worth of each man's farm. The chiefs selected three of their friends—of whom I was one—to attend to this business for them.

This we attended to—several of the chiefs accompanying us round to all the improvements, ninety-six in number—and had the account in readiness by the time the money arrived. The Indians were not willing to receive the money from Gardner, as they said he cheated them once, and they were afraid to trust him again; and the money was paid over by their agent to us, and we paid to each claimant agreeably to the calculations we had made. The sums paid out ranged from seven dollars to six hundred dollars. The chiefs agreed with the traders to set apart four thousand dollars out of their improvement funds, to pay their debts, as far as that sum would reach, and the dividend we made for improvements only reached over nine thousand dollars of the thirteen thousand.

We paid over to each man (or woman) his or her money ourselves, and when all were paid, agreeably to our calculation, we had left in our hands, twenty dollars, which we proposed to give to the chiefs, as they had spent several days in company with us when we were viewing their farms. To this all the Indians at once agreed. After a general consultation among themselves, Wayweleapy stepped up on a bench, so he could be seen by the whole company, and said: "I speak on behalf of all the Shawnee people, and say to our friends, who have had so much trouble in dividing our money for our farms, that every Indian in the nation is well pleased with all that they have done. We selected them to do this business for us as we could not do it ourselves, and because we knew they were our friends; and they have not deceived us."

We then paid over the twenty dollars to the chiefs, but in a short time they returned, and informed us that they had concluded, as John Wolf had been sick for a long time, and wished to purchase a wagon to move out west in, and lacked twenty dollars to enable him to buy the wagon, he wanted us to give him the money we had just paid to them, if we were willing. We agreed to it at once, of course, and were much struck with the simple, straight-forward honesty of this much-abused people, and could exclaim, how many of our own officers, after receiving only about fifty cents per day and boarding themselves, would thus take their hard-earned wages and give it to a neighbor, in order to help him on account of being afflicted! I may remark that this John Wolf was a very industrious, hard-working man, had good possessions in Ohio, and was much grieved at leaving them. He never recovered from his affliction, mentioned above, but lived and died in Kansas, a poor, disheartened man. He realized what he told me on leaving Ohio, that he could never do any more good in this world.

Of the four thousand dollars which was taken from the thirteen thousand dollars, which was allowed to the Shawnees for their improvements, a very small part was applied in liquidating the debts of those who had the largest improvements, as these generally were clear of debt, as, for instance, Oneissimo—(alias, Little Fox,) his improvement, I recollect, was valued at six hundred dollars. His brother, Peaitchtha's improvement, at five hundred. William Parks' farm at five hundred, and many others, who were nearly clear from debt, were among the most valuable farms in the nation. If the whole thirteen thousand dollars had been divided among the Shawnees, as the nine thousand was, these men would have received over forty per cent. more for their farms than they did, after the four thousand dollars was deducted from the amount designed to pay for their labor; but, notwithstanding, they were well aware that they did not owe any part of these debts scarcely, themselves, and that such a course, would cause them to directly contribute their own money to pay the debts of the most indolent of their people, even to the wronging of themselves and their families, still, they did it without a murmur.

Now, I should like to see the matter brought up among our own people, as it was with the Shawnees, and see if we would act as they did in this matter.

About the first of the ninth month Gardner arrived at Wapaughkonnetta, in order to remove the Shawnees to their new homes. He informed them that he should take them by way of Bellefontaine, Urbana, Xenia, Lebanon, and Lawrenceburgh, (which would have been at least one hundred and fifty miles of unnecessary travel). The chiefs told him that they knew the road to their new homes as well as he did; that they would go by Greenville, Richmond, and Indianapolis, which was a straight road, and directly in the right course; but to go the route he had proposed, they never would. He continued to urge them until they refused to hear him any longer on the subject. A young man from West Point, who was sent out, I believe, as a disbursing agent to Gardner, got up on a bench and made a very flowery speech to the Indians, urging them, in the most earnest manner, to take Gardner's advice and go the route he had proposed to them—telling them that if it was further it would cost them nothing, as government would pay all expense, and by going this route they would get to see several fine towns, fine houses and farms on the road, as well as many white people:

a great deal more than to go their own route. He ended his speech, at which the chiefs manifested to the young man to be highly pleased, and told him that they would counsel together that night, among themselves, and answer him about ten o'clock in the morning. The young man was highly pleased with what he considered he had effected on the minds of the chiefs by his speech, and waited, no doubt, impatiently, for ten o'clock next morning to arrive, to bring out the result of *his* effort.

Next morning, when the council met, the chiefs, in a very friendly manner, smoked with the commissioner and his young friend for some time. At length Wayweleapy arose with great dignity, and remarked, in as solemn a tone as he could, that he was very much pleased to meet his two friends this morning; that the chiefs had counseled a long time, last night, about what his young friend had said to them in his speech, and that now he hoped all would be done about right, and they would have no more trouble. Then, observing the young man to be very much elated in his mind, on account of his success, as he imagined, the speaker turned to Gardner, and very gravely remarked to him: "My friend, we, the chiefs, are old men; have been in council with such men as Governor Cass and John Johnston: tell the President, we don't do business with boys. Now, my friend, I have no more to say."

When the speaker concluded his remarks, one general burst of laughter arose from the Indians, as well as the whites present, (as it was spoken in both languages,) which continued for some time, at the expense of the young man, who appeared mortified, but did not reply one word, and soon left the house and started for Lewistown, to the great merriment of the Indians.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SOON as the Shawnees could make ready, after receiving their money, they set off with heavy hearts on their journey of eight hundred miles, across the open prairie, a great part uninhabited, about the 20th of the ninth month; that is, those who belonged to the Wapaughkonnetta band, about four-fifths of the whole number of the tribe, but the others would not remove until the following spring.

It was sorrowful to see those poor souls, as they were leaving their homes and native land, to seek another they knew nothing about, as they cast their last look at their favored spot—at old Wapaughkonnetta—where they had reared up dwellings with their own hands, planted orchards, and raised cattle, horses, and hogs—where they had good homes, and above all, were content; but now, contrary to their will, they had to leave all that was dear on earth to them, and seek a home far away, and, as is ever the case with the Indians, they lamented most for having to leave the graves of fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and children, to the mercy of a people who, while living, cared little for them, and would care less for their dead. In their journey, they passed by our Mission; all called and took their last farewell, and many of them wept bitterly as they left us, and in despair, would declare that they considered they were an undone people; that their land was gone; their homes and all they had to support their families on, gone; that the winter would overtake them before they could reach their new homes, and they feared their women and children would perish; and if they should get other improvements in their new country, they should never again have assurance that government would let them keep them, since they had taken their lands in Ohio from them.

They were poorly fitted out for the journey, at that late season of the year, and they knew right well that, when they arrived at their place of destination, they would have no shelter for their families, and what few people were there would be strangers to them, and that considering the condition they were then in—all ages and classes, from a hundred years old (for I knew a woman then living, who was one hundred and five years old, who had to leave Ohio) to the infant not two days old—all had to leave at the bidding of the white man; sick or well, prepared or unprepared, this people—who were once a free people—had now to obey their masters; all they could say, or all they can yet say is of no avail, and of what use is it to lament over their fate when a stronger power has them under its control? As they have to leave their homes at the demands of the stronger power, all they can do is to plead for mercy, in their present unsettled and ruined condition, and in feelings of despair, appeal to us in language like the following:

Oh! listen to a people's cry
You 've wronged for many a year;
No more let interest shroud your eyes,
Nor avarice close your ears.
From many a mountain altar
It swells on many a breeze;
Oh! let your stout hearts falter
To accents such as these.
Did we not own this glorious land,
Each mountain, lake, and river?
Were they not from Thy sacred hand
Our heritage forever?
Where tombs arise and harvests wave
Our children used to stray;
We cannot find our fathers' graves—
Our fathers! where are they?
Like snow before Thy fiery glance—
Like dew in the garment's ray,
Like bubbles, that on the ocean dance,
Our tribes are swept away.
Father of Heaven! we faint, we fall,
Like leaves on some lonely flood,
And the earth, beneath our conquerors' hall,
Still reeks with thy children's blood!

They arrived at their new homes about Christmas, after having traveled a great distance through the snow in that cold, open, prairie country; but as they expected, found no shelter for their families to winter in, and had to live in tents until they had time to erect cabins, which they did as soon as the weather would admit.

Gardner, the commissioner who made the treaty with the Shawnees (or more properly speaking, for them) superintended the removal of the tribe as far as to the Mississippi river, but he so much neglected his duty in providing for them, that he had to leave them and return home.

The band of Hog Creek Shawnees removed out the next summer after the others did. They were well taken care of by Joseph Parks, who got the job of removing them, and he did his duty, and they all arrived in safety and without suffering; which would have been the case with the first company if they had been removed early in the season, as they were told would be the case, and had had a feeling, honest man to remove them.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Three of us visited them, early the next summer, and found nearly all of them in cabins. Many of them had made rails, inclosed grounds, and planted some corn and beans, and procured some stock. The purpose of our visit to them was to offer to erect buildings and establish a school among them. We had them collected in council, on the occasion, and informed them that we had sold our farm and other property in Ohio, where we had taught their children, and wished to apply the proceeds to a like purpose at their present homes, if they desired it, and that we wanted none of their money, but would do it all at our own expense, as we had ever done, only we wanted to have a farm as large as we might need and timber to keep it up. To these propositions they at once consented.

In the fall, the Hog Creek band arrived from Ohio. They were removed under the care of Joseph Parks, and by him were well cared for and removed very comfortably. The Shawnees, of course, raised very little grain, that season, and no meat. As they arrived the winter before, and had their houses to build and rails to split, they had but little time to raise food for winter. Their year's supply ended at Christmas, and there was no game; consequently they saw no way to sustain their families until they could raise a supply in the spring of 1834. I received a letter from the chiefs, certified by their agent, stating that they were in a suffering condition for want of provisions, and asking help from us. On the receipt of the information contained in the letter, I forwarded it to General Vance and requested him to bring their situation before Congress and ask relief from the government, which he did, and asked that five thousand dollars should be appropriated for the relief of the Shawnees; but in this he failed.

The subject was laid before the Friends with better success. A large amount of bacon and flour was contributed to their relief and shipped to Independence, to the care of the United States' agent, who judiciously distributed it to those who were unable to procure any provisions for themselves.

Two of us again visited the Shawnees in the spring, to have buildings erected in order to resume a school. We had them collected in a general council, and proposed to them to select a site for us to erect a house and inclose a farm, and in order that all might be conducted in harmony, we proposed to mark out a tract, including as much prairie as we thought would be sufficient for farming purposes, and as much timbered land adjoining it as we might apprehend we should ever need for all purposes.

After they had consulted until the next morning, they informed us, that they had agreed to our proposition so far as to point out the place, if that would suit us, but if not, we might select a place ourselves; but as to the other proposal, they were not satisfied, for if they were to mark off a piece of land, as we wished, it would look bad—it would look as if they were afraid to trust their friends who had done so much for them, but that they would say just nothing about how much we were to have, but leave us to farm as much prairie as we might wish to, and go anywhere on their land and cut as much timber as we should want. To this we agreed, and the chiefs and we signed an article to that effect. After spending several days very pleasantly with them and in making arrangements for erecting a dwelling and school-house, we returned to Ohio.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

I RECEIVED a letter from the Shawnees, informing me, that, of the payment of two thousand dollars annually for fifteen years, by the Act of Congress of 1832, "as an additional compensation for their reservations at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek," they had never yet received one cent; that they had concluded to send a delegation to Washington City, on the subject, and asking me to write them a letter and inform them which of their chiefs, and the number, I thought should compose the delegation. I consulted Thomas Corwin, who was about to start to Washington. Being a member of Congress at that time, he undertook to attend to their business. As soon as he arrived at Washington, he laid the subject before the Secretary of War, who informed him by a note, (which he sent to me,) "that at the time the Act was passed, the understanding was, that it was to pay the Shawnee debts, and as only about four hundred dollars of those debts were allowed to be just, the Department had come to the conclusion to pay out no more, as the purpose Congress had in passing that bill, was answered." Corwin replied to him, "that as the Act specified no such thing as paying debts, but simply an act as an additional compensation for their lands, no such construction could be sustained," and that he should bring the subject before Congress. He then requested me to send the Shawnees word, not to come to Washington, as the government would not pay their expenses; but to inform them, that he would attend to their business for them.

This he did, and carried an amendment to the "Indian Appropriation Bill," granting eight thousand dollars, that being the amount due them, up to that period.

This amount was promptly paid, leaving them still eleven payments, amounting to twenty-two thousand dollars. But sometime after this, government admitted a claim which had been rejected by the Indian department, and which originated prior to the treaty of 1831, (and which, the Shawnees understood, was to be paid out of government funds,) to be paid out of the money granted as the additional compensation on account of the fraudulent treaty of 1831. Thus were four of the fifteen annual payments of two thousand dollars each, taken by government from these people, and paid over to one of the traders, and this was a part of one of the very claims which the commissioners declared, that, if the chiefs would sign the treaty, the government should pay. But, alas! how little regard was paid to the faith of our nation, or to the wants of these poor people.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EARLY in the summer, a family was sent by the Friends, to superintend our Mission, then to be put into operation, and a teacher was also procured, and a school organized, which continued for near three years. The Indians improved fast, in the arts of civilization. Two other schools were commenced about the same time, one of which was small, but well-conducted, and under the care of the Baptists; and the other, a large, well-conducted school, under the care of the Methodist Church. These schools afforded the Indians an opportunity of having their children well educated, free of cost.

About this time, or in the year 1834, the United States undertook to drive the Seminole Indians by force, into a treaty, in order to obtain their lands in Florida, and then settle them in the Indian territory, west of the State of Missouri. This was a troublesome affair, and seemed from the nature of the country, to be more than they were able to accomplish; for the Indians penetrated deep into the swamps, where the soldiers are neither able to follow, or drive them out.

It was at length concluded, that it would take some of their own kind of people to accomplish what our enlightened race had failed to do.

The Shawnees and Delawares were each levied on for a company, and a high reward was offered for volunteers from these tribes. About eighty men were raised, and transported to the Seminole country, as the Hessians were, by England, in the time of the revolutionary war, to fight against a people who had never injured them, and to whom, they were entire strangers.

After an absence of six months, they all returned, but one of them had his arm badly shot by a Seminole. Very few of them received the amount of pay offered them at the time they undertook the service.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE school under the care of the Friends, was suspended for a few months in the winter of 1839–40, on account of the absence of the teacher, and the affliction of the family of the superintendent.

In the spring, I arrived in their country with my family and a teacher, and took charge of the Mission, and commenced a school, which was soon filled with very interesting children.

The children being very destitute of clothing, as well as bed-clothes, I gave the information of their needy condition, to the young Friends of Baltimore, with an account of the very interesting school we had; in return for which, we received about one hundred and fifty dollars worth of the most valuable clothes, ready-made, material for clothes, books, etc. We also received several hundred dollars worth from the Friends of Ohio and Indiana.

CHAPTER XL.

In the year 1841, there was a treaty held at Upper Sandusky, in Ohio, with the Wyandots, who held a reservation which the United States wished to exchange for land in the Indian territory. To this proposition, the Wyandots would not agree, unless they could get a tract six miles wide off the Shawnees, at the east end of their land, and the same amount of the Delawares. This was of the best land the Shawnees held, and lay adjoining the State of Missouri, for a distance of twenty-five miles, including a large number of their improvements, and all three of their Missions; yet, strange as it may appear, they, strongly urged by some of their leading men, who were connected with the traders, agreed to sell. A letter was sent to them by the commissioner who was to treat with the Wyandots, urging them in the strongest terms, to sell.

He informed them, that many years ago, the Shawnees were destitute of a home, and the Wyandots gave them one, and did many kind actions for them, and now was their time to repay them.

The letter from the commissioner was brought by the chiefs to our Mission, according to the request of the writer. About seventy of the principal men of the Shawnees and Delaware nations were present. When the letter was read, making known that the desire of the commissioner was for them to give the Wyandots a tract of land off the Shawnee reservation, amounting to one hundred and fifty square miles, and nearly as much from the Delawares, and assuring them, that the Wyandots would make them a handsome present for it, but informing them that our government would not purchase it of them, and reminding them of former favors bestowed by the Wyandots, in giving them a home, when they were without one, this caused a great sensation in the minds of all the Delawares present, and all of the Shawnees, except a few, who were connected with the Wyandots, or under the influence of certain traders, who thought the Wyandots would bring a large sum of money with them; and as they had now got all the Shawnees' money, it would be better suited to their interest, to push the Shawnees aside, and let the Wyandots take their place. This was their policy. There was a stormy time in council, for one day. Some few urged the measure, and those few were confined entirely to those who had recently come from Ohio, and who had never paid anything for this land, but merely held a claim upon it, through the kind indulgence of those who had purchased it.

Those of the Shawnees, who had formerly lived at Cape Girardeau, made vehement indignation speeches. They cast very severe and just reflections on their brethren from Ohio who manifested so much liberality in giving away land, for which they had never paid one cent. They were very severe upon the government for urging them to give away their land to these people, because it was said they had, in times past, done so much for them. Among the most prominent speakers who opposed the measure, was Peter Cornstalk, a very old man, and son of the celebrated chief, Cornstalk, a conspicuous character in the Governor Dunmore war. He declared that he was as old a man as the commissioner was, and that he did not believe one word he said about the Wyandots having done so much for the Shawnees. He thought it very strange that government could remember so much the Wyandots had done for them and he know nothing about it.

"Strange," said he, "I must have been asleep a long time." "Well," he continued, "the Wyandots have given the United States a great deal of land; the United States have land plenty—more, by far, than the Shawnees have—and he would propose that they just give the Wyandots a little, and not beg it of the Shawnees for them." He declared they should not have one foot of their land.

This chief, although, I supposed him to be upward of eighty years of age, appeared strong and well, was a very fluent and powerful speaker, and although Wayweleapy was somewhat his superior in speaking, and, withal, very desirous of accommodating the Wyandots and his old friend, the commissioner, after hearing the determined and masterly speech of this ancient, resolute chief, in which himself and several of the Ohio band were roughly handled, and indeed threatened, he became silent and did not attempt a reply. Peter Cornstalk was a war-chief, and being an exciting speaker, was chosen to defend their rights. Several of the Ohio chiefs, among whom were Little Fox and Pamothaway (George Williams), opposed the measure very obstinately. George Williams denied the statement set forth by the commissioner, that the Wyandots had given the Shawnees an acre of land. He went into a full history about the Shawnees once being offered a large tract of land by the Wyandots, for them to live and hunt on, to pay them for helping to fight the Kentuckians; but as soon as the war was over, they were driven away. This account, he said, he made from what old men had told him; and his account agrees with what we read, on that subject, in the government papers.

Before the debate closed, the parties became so warm on the subject, that John Perry, head chief, in a few words dissolved the council.

In a few days, however, those, who were in favor of the measure, held another council, at the agency. I attended this council and did all in my power to prevent anything being done in the matter, as I was very sure, if there was, some of these men would be put to death. This I had reason to believe, from what some of their best men had frequently declared to me.

In this last council they seemed really to give the matter up, but in a few days a few of the leaders in the business were prevailed upon by some traders, who, I learned, offered the head chief one thousand dollars if he would push the matter. Accordingly a paper was prepared, signed by himself and a few others, and sent to the commissioner at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, informing him that the Shawnees had agreed to the proposition, and appointed a delegate to start for the same place in a few days. This I learned from one of them, as he was returning from the post-office, where he had been to mail the papers.

On my return I found several of the chiefs, who had opposed the measure, awaiting my arrival. They had heard of the course pursued by the other party, and I then told them all I had learned about it. One of the chiefs wept like a child; he told me that he was one hundred and ten years old; that his name was Crane, and that he was one of those chiefs who made the treaty with Governor Clark at St. Louis, in 1825, for that very land which the others were selling or giving away. He showed me the treaty, which he had in his possession, with his name to it, and asked me to assist them in preventing the sale of their land.

In a few days Little Fox brought an interpreter with him and begged me to assist them in stopping the proceedings; he declared that, if the Wyandots got their land, they would kill the chiefs who had done that act. He said that he had a good farm, his brother had, his sister had, and Billy Parks had, as well as many others, and that they would die before they would leave them. On the next day, one of the chiefs came and requested me to meet them in council on the following day, at Peter Cornstalk's. I accordingly attended, and on my arrival there, I found them assembled to the number of one hundred, and seated in order. When I entered, the chiefs arose and shook hands with me, then resumed their seats without uttering a word. All remained silent until Cornstalk arose and delivered a speech declaring their determination never to leave their homes, and saying many other things similar in meaning to what he had said at the first council, all of which I wrote down. The Shawnees, present at this council, were composed mostly of the Missouri band, and were very much enraged at what had been done by the Ohio band. Apprehending that serious mischief, if not arrested, would befall those chiefs who had urged this matter to such a hasty conclusion, I informed them that, if they would all now agree to drop the matter, I would endeavor to stop the whole proceedings, but if they would not now pledge themselves to me, that they would not hurt any of those who had done this bad act, until time was allowed to send a letter to Ohio and get an answer, that I would do no more in the matter; but if they would, and leave all to me, I thought that I could have the matter stopped. I told them that I would send their speeches and a letter of my own to the commissioner at Sandusky; that I knew him as one of the best men living, and that, if he were acquainted with their distressing situation, he would at once stop the whole proceedings. I also told them that, in my letter, I would tell him all about their troubles, and I knew that he would believe me. They all pledged themselves that they would do as I wished, and the council closed. They were true to their promise, and I heard no more complaint from them.

I wrote to the commissioner, giving him a detailed account of the whole affair, and transmitted to him the speech of Cornstalk. He received my communication the day before the treaty with the Wyandots was to be held—the account from the party favorable to the sale, or gift of the land to that tribe, having reached him a few days previous.

After having received my papers, he wrote me an answer, the contents of which he wished me to make the Shawnees acquainted with, stating that, on the receipt of the letter from the Ohio chiefs, which letter being approved by the agent, he convened the Wyandot chiefs and informed them that they could be accommodated with land by the Shawnees, and that he now wished to conclude the treaty, for which purpose he had a house filled with bacon, beef, tobacco, and flour; but just at that time he received my letter. He called the chiefs together and read the letter to them, and told them that he had now got the true state of matters regarding the Shawnees, and that he would not go another step in the matter, as he could not be the means of bringing trouble on the Shawnees, and then dismissed the council. He immediately sent the account of what had transpired to me, which I made known to the Shawnees, and then they let the matter rest; but the delegation being ignorant of what had been sent to Sandusky City, fitted out and went on their mission, but they were too late. They returned and gave the matter up, but the Wyandots succeeded in procuring some land from the Delawares.

CHAPTER XLI.

In the spring of 1842 I left the Shawnee country, and returned, with my family, to Ohio, having, with my family, spent two years with them at Wapaughkonnetta, at a time when they underwent an abundance of trouble, and enduring some suffering, and having been, in several instances, instrumental in rendering them some assistance, and twice visiting them at their far-distant homes, when among strangers; and now, after mingling again with them, as I did, and having taught, or kept up a large school to their satisfaction, they were very loth to give us up. I did not let them know, until a short time before we left, of our prospect of leaving them. When they learned that it was our intention soon to leave them, we were visited almost daily, by some of them. One of the chiefs visited us, and brought an interpreter with him. He told us that they had held a large council on the subject, at which many of their women were present, and that they had sent him to us with their last farewell. He had my family all collected in the house to themselves. After having been seated in silence for some time, he shook hands with us all, and then said: "My brother and my sister, I am now about to speak for all our young men, and for all of our women and children, and in their name to bid you farewell. They could not all come—it would be too much trouble to you to have them all here at one time—so I have been sent with their message. I was directed to tell you that all their hearts are full of sorrow, because you are going to leave them and return to your home again. Ever since you have been living with us, we can all see how the Quakers and our fathers used to live together in peace. You have used our children well, and have been kind to us all: your doors were always opened to us. We were sometimes in distress, and you helped us; many times our people were hungry, and you gave them victuals. You were always kind to us, and we loved you. Your children and our children lived together in peace at school, and learned together, and they loved one another. We will always remember you, and we will tell our children never to forget your children. And now, my brother and sister, I bid you farewell; and Caleb and his sisters, and the little boys and their little sisters, farewell." He then came to me, and taking me by my left arm, close to the shoulder, and holding on for some time, crying like a child, in broken English said: "Farewell, my brother!" then bid my wife farewell, calling her his good sister, and asking that the Lord might bless her for her kindness to them. Next he bid all our children farewell, and talked to each in Shawnee, knowing they could understand him. All wept bitterly when our least children cried aloud as he held them by the hands and gave them his parting adieu, telling them never to forget him and the little Shawnee children, with whom they had lived in peace so long. When he had gone around all the family in this manner, and talked to every one, he turned back, and, after again taking each one of us by the hand, he left us without saying another word.

I confess, I was so overcome that I could not speak, but I shall never forget that day. This was George Williams, a near neighbor to us, and a sober, honest, upright man. In a few days all the chiefs, except Geo. Williams, came early in the morning to see me. They told us, on their arrival, that George Williams had been sent a few days before to deliver a message and bid us farewell, on behalf, and in the name of the whole nation; but now they had come on their own account, as the chiefs, to pass the day with us, and to talk over all their old matters with me, as we were going to leave them, for which they were very sorry, because we had been with them so much; but they supposed we wanted to go to our home, and our friends and they must give us up. They said, maybe it would be the last day we should ever spend together in this world, and then proposed to me that we should all go into the yard to talk, as it was a pleasant day, and they would spit so much in the house.

I had their horses put up and fed. There were about twenty chiefs and counselors present. We spent a happy day together, and I gave them a good dinner. In the afternoon they saddled their horses, and tied them near the bars, and then returned to where we had been sitting. When evening drew near I observed them become very solemn and thoughtful, and conversing, among themselves, about returning home. Soon they divided something among themselves, that looked like fine seeds, which John Perry had wrapped in a cloth.

They then loosened their hair and clothes. Henry Clay, one of the chiefs, who acted as interpreter, informed me, that they were now ready to return home. They wanted me to have everbody but my wife and children, leave the house, and for us to arrange ourselves in order, according to our ages, so they could take a last look at each one of us, and bid us farewell. Henry Clay came to the door, looked in, saw us all standing in order on the floor, and then returned to the others, when they came into the house, one after another, according to their stations. John Perry came first. Each one, as he reached the door, put something into his mouth, (the seed I supposed,) and chewed it. John Perry first took my hand, and said, "Farewell, my brother." Then taking my wife by the hand, said, "My sister, farewell." Tears streamed down his aged cheek, as he bid our children adieu, talking all the time to them in the Shawnee language. The others followed in the same way. Some of them were crying, and trying to talk to our children, as they held them by the hand. The children cried the whole time, as if they were parting with one another. The ceremony lasted for some time. When they were through, every one started directly, and mounted their horses, John Perry leading, and the others falling in in order, one after another, they set off for their homes across the prairie. Not one looked back, but they observed the same order as if they were returning from a funeral. This was a solemn time to us. Here were the celebrated Shawnee chiefs, great men among the Indians, some of them called in time past, brave warriors, now here in mourning—in tears, and all this in sincerity, and for nothing more than parting with us. They surely did love us. Whether we were deserving of their heartfelt love and confidence or not, they thought we were; and it was a moving, solemn spectacle for us. They were several times brought to great straits, and, to use their own term, I helped them. Sometimes some of their people were hungry, and we fed them. This they knew, and did not forget. After some poor, little child was nearly naked, and they saw our own children's clothes on it, they would not soon forget that. In a few days from this time, we took leave of the school children, about forty in number. These children had been given up to us on our arrival among the Indians, several of them being the children of those who had attended our school in Ohio. They had lived in our family two years; had lived very peaceably with our children, had interchanged languages with them, and had become very much attached to one another; and the parting scene was very affecting indeed. We took leave of them in the school-house—all wept, from the smallest to the largest. Some of the little girls followed us to the wagon, and begged to ride across the fields with our girls. We let several of them ride, but when we stopped for them to get out of the wagon, they refused to leave our children. We had to put them out by force. They clung fast to our little girl, and screamed as loud as they could, and so did our own poor little girl. We had to tear them apart, and put them out of the wagon, and go off and leave them in this situation, which was a very hard trial to us.

Now, I wish the reader to understand me rightly in all I have said about our parting with the Shawnees. I do not wish to have anything attributed to me or mine; that is not what I intended; neither is it the purpose for which I have kept their accounts. I wish it distinctly understood, that we were employed by the Society of Friends in this service. The expense was borne entirely by the members of that Society. I only contributed my part in making up the money. I was bound to be faithful to the trust reposed in me—in us, I should say, and all I claim, is, that we strove to do our duty.

We confess, that the gratitude so abundantly manifested by these poor souls toward us, and the consciousness of having done our duty, is a great, a rich, and lasting reward, which will console us now in our declining years, and we hope, will continue to do so, till the end of our pilgrimage here. These thoughts, we trust, will be a consolation to us in our last moments, and with what other good works we may do, or may have done, will, when we rest from our labors, follow us to a glorious habitation, where all the just of every generation have gone.

My object in penning these accounts, is, that those who may read them, may see what the "Savages," as they are so wrongfully denominated, are, when treated as human beings. They are such utter strangers to such treatment as Christians should bestow on their fellows, that if they receive ever so small a favor, they can scarcely avoid magnifying it into something very great.

I am sure, that to see these great and strong-minded chiefs melted into a flood of tears—weeping in agony; holding us firmly by the hands, their eyes turned toward Heaven, and in their native language, invoking the Great Spirit to shower down blessings upon each member of the family, as they parted from us; this, I am sure, was enough to tender any heart that could be moved; it was enough for us—more than we expected—more than we deserved. We only regret, that every one who may read this, cannot have the opportunity we had, of witnessing the gratitude of these Indians, of these "Savages;" if they could, the term *savage*, if ever applied to the Indians, would be spared from the Shawnees. I have been acquainted with many Indian tribes, and I believe that if ever our race was used as they have been, we would be more vindictive—more savage by far, than they. A morsel of bread would not soften us—small favors would not reconcile us, as they do these people.

The school which we left, was continued under the care of others who succeeded us, with great advantage to the Shawnees. The Shawnees generally, advanced in improvements, but they were not healthy—many of their chief men died, among whom, were John Perry and Wayweleapy, and several other chiefs. In the year 1844, they were visited by a great flood, which swept off their houses, and a large amount of grain; many of their farms were laid waste. In consequence of this, they were likely to be in want, information of which, coming to the Society of Friends, a large amount of money was raised, and provisions procured for their use, till they could raise a supply for themselves.

CHAPTER XLII.

I do not know that it will be necessary for me to take notice of any more treaties with the Shawnees, before finishing my book. I hope not. After examining all the treaties between our government and that nation, I can find only one which has the appearance of fairness, as containing a contract in which we pay a just equivalent for the property purchased, and that is the treaty of 1817, held by Governor Cass and McArthur. In that treaty, these commissioners evidently had justice and the welfare of the Shawnees in view, and the result was, that they provided them with a good tract of land, and had it secured to them as their own. This is the first treaty, I believe, which was ever made with the Shawnees, without demanding land of them; and those demands were always based upon this ground: "To manifest their good-will to the United States, and to indemnify the government for the expense of some war," which had been carried on in their country until, after their villages and other property had been destroyed, they were compelled, in order to save their families, to sue for peace; and in that situation they would agree to almost any terms that might be proposed.

General Wayne admitted that the Shawnees had an indisputable right to the soil. Cass and McArthur acknowledged that the United States were under obligations to them for services rendered, and did not, as usual, make them give a large amount, as evidence of their regard for the United States. There are three men, one of whom is dead, who may justly be considered as the faithful friends of the Indians, and who ever strove for the interest of the Shawnees; they ever had the love and confidence of the nation. These men were, Lewis Cass, John Johnston, and General Joseph Vance. These men were ready at all times to aid the Shawnees—were men in high standing in government—had great influence, and used it in behalf of this people—and to the latest period of their existence, as a nation, I have no doubt, they will be held in grateful remembrance, as among its foremost friends.

CHAPTER XLIII.

I HAVE omitted noticing a letter from a confederation of chiefs, of which the Shawnees, as one of them, with thirteen other bands, signed it on the 16th of August, 1793, at the mouth of Detroit river, which was sent by a runner to the United States commissioner at the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie. This letter will show that the Shawnees had a claim to the lands in question equal to the other bands. This agrees with the idea of Tecumseh, but in which he was overruled by Gen. Harrison. The letter is as follows, viz:

"*To the Commissioners of the United States*:—Brothers, we have received your speech, dated 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers, you told us that after you had made peace with the king, our father, about ten years ago, that it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace; and, after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Forts McIntosh and Miami, all of which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say—Brothers, the commissioners who conducted the treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers concerning them to the general councils of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.

"Brothers, this is telling us plainly what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declaration of those who made the treaties, viz: That they went to meet your commissioners to make peace, but, through fear, were obliged to sign the papers laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them instead of treaties of peace. You say, after some time it appears that a number of people in your nation were dissatisfied with the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Miami, therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating to trade, and settling boundaries between the Indian nations, in the northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council-fire he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum river. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out: so he kindled a council-fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Sacs, were also parties to the treaties of Fort Harmar.

"Now, brothers, these are your own words, and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

"Brothers, a general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that a general council was invited by your commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him, for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed, on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederated Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove, that your said commissioners, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands, would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless, collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, they with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested than as a branch of the great confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

"Brothers: how then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace and quietly hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of the land to the United States? The part of these lands, which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which, you say, are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

"Brothers: you say the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the falls of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark for his warriors, and in consideration for which, the United States would give such a large sum of money, or goods, as was never given at any time for any quantity of Indian land since the white people first set their foot in this country; and because these lands furnished you with skins and furs with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And, therefore, beside the great sum to be delivered at once, they will, every year, deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women, and your children.

"Brothers: money to us, is of no value, and to many of us unknown, and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed and peace thereby maintained. We know that these settlers are poor, or they would not have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people; give to each also a proportion of that which, you say, you would give to us annually, over and above this large sum of money; and we are persuaded they would most readily accept it in lieu of the land which you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must spend in raising and paying armies with a view of forcing us to yield up our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labors and improvements.

"Brothers: you have talked much to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have been only defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country and we will be your enemies no longer.

"Brothers: you make one concession by offering us your money, and another by having agreed to do us justice after having long and injuriously withheld it—we mean, in the acknowledgment you have now made, that 'the king of England never did, nor never had any right to give you our country,' by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a part of your concessions, and seem to expect that, because you at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

"You have talked a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands as ceded to you by the king of England at the treaty of peace. Brothers: we never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands, and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us; we have never parted with such a power.

"Brothers: at our general council, held at the Anglaize, last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to the Ohio river, and we determined not to meet you until you gave us satisfaction on that account. This is the reason we never met.

"We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no further, because the country behind affords hardly food for its present inhabitants, and we have, therefore, resolved not to leave our homes in this small space to which we are now confined.

"Brothers: we shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent to this, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was directed principally to obtain that information.

"Done in general council at the foot of the rapids of the Miami, on the 13th day of August, 1793.

"NATIONS.—Wyandots, Chippewas, Nantikokees, Delawares, Senecas of Glaize, Mohikans, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Messisagues, Miamis, Conwiss, Creeks, Ottawas, Missouris, Cherokees, and the Seven Nations of Canada."

The concerned reader, on looking over this list, all of whom, except the last nation, were American Indians, *will at once ask himself—where are these people now?*

CHAPTER XLIV.

In the year 1853, Congress passed an Act, granting to the Shawnees, the sum of $66,000, as an additional compensation for their lands at Wapaughkonnetta and Hog Creek, in Ohio. This amount was shortly paid to them at their homes in Kansas, by the superintendent and agent, in cash.

Thus, after a delay of more than twenty years, the government complied with the demands of justice so far, as to grant the amount of pay that the Shawnees and our Society on their behalf, demanded for them in 1832, except four thousand dollars. This satisfied the Indians, and government was none the loser, as the interest of the money at five per cent. would overreach the debt in that time.

A lawyer, on the arrival of the money in the Shawnees' country, arrived there too, with a demand of fifty per cent. of the whole sum, as his fee for urging the claim at Washington, before the Department and the committees of Congress, although the testimony on which the claim was based, had been in the Department ever since 1832; but he got only a few thousand dollars, and that from individuals; the superintendent refusing to allow his claim to be taken from the money, on the grounds, that by Congress granting the amount, the demand of the Indians was recognized as just, and therefore, they were not bound to pay this man his claim to this large fee.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE Shawnees, in the year 1854, numbered about nine hundred souls, including the white men, who have intermarried into the nation, and are thereby adopted as Indians. This number is perhaps, not more than twenty.

This tribe owns about one million six hundred thousand acres of land, or, about 1700 acres each. Many of them have good dwelling-houses, well provided with useful and respectable furniture, which is kept in good order by the females, and they live in the same manner as the whites do, and live well too. They have smoke-houses, stables, corn-cribs, and other out-buildings. They have a good supply of horses, cattle, hogs, and some sheep. They have many farm wagons, and work oxen—some carriages and buggies, and are generally well supplied with farming implements, and know how to use them. They raise abundance of corn and oats, and some wheat. Their houses are generally very neat; built of hewn logs, with shingled roofs, stone chimneys, and the inside work very well finished off, and mostly done by themselves, as there are a number of very good mechanics among the younger class. Their fencing is very good, and, taken altogether, their settlements make a very respectable appearance, and would lose no credit by a comparison with those of their white neighbors in the State adjoining them, leaving out now and then, a farm where slaves do the labor, and thus carry on farming on a large scale.

The Shawnees have a large and commodious meeting-house, where they hold a religious meeting on the first day of each week. They have also a graveyard attached to the meeting-house lot. They hold religious meetings often at their own houses during the week, generally at night. They hold their camp-meetings and their other large meetings, in their meeting-house, as well as their public councils, and also their temperance meetings; for they, in imitation of their white brethren, and as a means of arresting the worst evil which ever overtook the Indians, organised a society on this subject, and have their own lectures, in which they are assisted by some of the missionaries. The younger class of them are most interested in this work, which is doing much good among them. Many of them have united themselves to religious societies, and appear to be very zealous observers of the forms and ceremonies of religion, and notwithstanding many of them, like too many of their white brethren, appear to have the form of godliness but not the power, yet it is apparent, that there are those among them, who are endeavoring to walk in the just man's path, which, to one who has been acquainted with them for a number of years, even when in their wild and savage state, affords great satisfaction.

As regards the settlements of the Shawnees in their present situation, they are all located on about thirty miles of the east end of their tract; their settlements of course, reaching a little short of one-third of the distance back from the Missouri State line. The watercourses will show the situation of their timbered land, as all the streams have more or less timber on them. In the bottom land, the timber is fine, and composed of black walnut, burr oak, hackberry, hickory, black oak, cottonwood, mulberry, etc. The upland timber is mostly black oak, and stands from one to four or five miles from the bottoms. Along the margin of the timbered lands, are the Shawnees' settlements, having timber for buildings, rails, and firewood on one side, and on the other side, are their farms, and the delightful prairies for grazing and for hay, for their stock in winter, which prairies consist of the very richest of loose soil, and are very productive for grain of every description, as well as for tame grass. The soil here, is not excelled perhaps, by any in the United States. The Shawnees have generally made good selections for locations for their settlements. There are many good springs of water on their lands, and stone plenty for every purpose, abounds in every section of their country, which is in a very mild and healthy climate.

They have mostly settled near the Kanzas river timber. The Mill Creek, Bull Creek, and Walkarutka timber and their tributaries, and, of course, their settlements are mostly in the north-east corner of their land.

In passing along the California and Santa Fé roads, which run on the divide between the streams of the Blue and Osage rivers, and the Kansas river—in casting the eye on either side, a handsome view is presented on both hands, of good dwellings, handsome farms, bordering on the forest, and fine herds of cattle and horses grazing in the rich prairies, as we pass, and beautiful fields of grain sown, planted and cultivated by the Indians themselves; and should the weary traveler see proper to call, and spend a night with these people, and manifest that interest for them, which he will be very sure to do, in viewing them in their present condition, and comparing it with what it once was, he will be well cared for. The Shawnees generally sow a large amount of grain, and often spare a large surplus after supplying their own wants.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ALAS! for this people, who were told that, in case they would sell their lands in Ohio, and remove to this very land, that it should be their home forever—theirs unmolested, and never to be within the limits of any state or territory of the United States. I say, who would have believed it at that time, if he had been told that, in less than twenty-five years, the United States should consider this term "forever" at an end? and that about 1854 it would, without the consent of the Indians—without consulting even its own people—and in the face of all the Indian treaties, establish a territory of the United States, over just as much of that Indian territory as was north of the slave line, and so construct the law as to have slavery right there?

I heard a very intelligent Indian chief declare, recently, that he had been engaged, in the course of his life, in making three treaties with the United States; that in all these treaties they used this term, "forever," and that it lasted longer this time than in either of the other treaties; and now it had only lasted for about twenty-one years.

Resolutions are now passed in the State of Missouri, in sight of the Indians, urging on Congress to extinguish the Indian titles in their lands, and urging members of Congress to bring that (to them) desirable object about. The avaricious grasp of the white man has fixed its eye on these rich acres, and the fine Indian farms; and men are traversing this Territory in every direction, to select places for locating on this land—they are "coveting that which is not theirs," nor never can be, but at the sacrifice of the pledged faith of a great, rich, and Christian-professing nation. But all these pledges and assurances to these people must fall before avarice, and a thirst for power; and already is the work commenced "officially." A commissioner has been here from the government, and asked for such surplus land as the Indians might wish to sell. The answer he got was, that the Shawnees were unanimously agreed to sell one million of acres, off the west end, and as unanimously resolved not to sell the east end, where their homes are.

The commissioner returned, and made his report to the President, and here is one important and ominous paragraph which occurs in his report:

"With but few exceptions, the Indians were opposed to selling any part of their lands, as announced in their replies to the speeches of the commissioner. Finally, however, many tribes expressed their willingness to sell, but on condition that they should retain tribal reservations on their present tracts of land. This policy was deemed objectionable, and not to be adopted if it could be avoided; and with such tribes the time of treating was deferred until next spring, with the hope that the Indians, by that time, might see that their permanent interest required an entire transfer of all their lands, and a removal to a new home. Some tribes declined to dispose of any portion; and all, with the exception of the Wyandots and Ottawas, who expressed an opinion on the subject of an organization of a civil government in that Territory, were opposed to the measure. They have, with few exceptions, a very crude and unintelligible idea of the white man's laws—dreading them as engines of tyranny and oppression—and they dread as well as fear them. Before the commissioner left the country, quite a change was perceptible among the Indians; and it is believed that, with few exceptions, the tribes will, next spring, enter into treaties and dispose of large portions of their country, and some of them will sell the whole of their land. The idea of retaining reservations, which seemed to be generally entertained, is not deemed to be consistent with their true interests, and every good influence ought to be exercised to enlighten them on the subject. If they dispose of their lands, no reservations should, if it can be avoided, be allowed. There are some Indians in various tribes, who are occupying farms, and comfortably situated, and who are in such a state of civilization that, if they desired to remain, the privilege might well, and ought, perhaps, be granted, and their farms, in each case, be reserved for their homes. Such Indians would be qualified to enjoy the privileges of citizenship; but to make reservations for an entire tribe, on the tract which it now owns, would, it is believed, be injurious of the future peace, prosperity, and happiness of these people. The commissioner, as far as he judged it prudent, endeavored to enlighten them on this subject, and labored to convince them that it was not consistent with the true interest of themselves and their posterity, that they should have tribal reservations within their present limits.

"Signed by the Commissioner, 1853."

The opinion of this commissioner of Indian affairs is, that every influence should be used to encourage the Indians on the subject of selling all their lands. The obvious meaning of this is, to enlighten their understanding so as to convince them that it would be to their advantage to leave "all" their lands here and seek another home. Well, that can't be done; they are too far advanced in knowledge and common sense for that. Any other way than to threaten them (as heretofore) with the terror of our laws being placed over them, which they can scarcely be made believe, if we are Christians, as we profess to be, that we will do that, as they have some idea what Christianity is. And to tell these Shawnees that they have not land enough, they will tell you that they have each about 1700 acres, and want no more. Tell them they need better land: they will say there is none better anywhere. Tell them of game plenty somewhere, which they can kill: they say they would rather have their cattle, hogs, houses, orchards, and cornfields, than all the game in the plains. And, finally, tell them they are too near the whites, and they will say that that is to their advantage, for there is where their market is. Tell them of what you will, and they will believe just as much of it as this: they believe the whites want their country because it is rich.

Were they disposed to enlighten us, how they could retort on us, and say: "Leave off your sins by righteousness, and your iniquities, by showing mercy to the poor oppressed nations you have within your grasp."

No real friend to justice, to mercy, to the poor, nor to our own nation, can ask these poor, abused people to leave again their homes and seek another, to make room for the avaricious white man, who, like the horse-leech in Scripture, are continually crying—Give, give, and never satisfied.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THERE are now in the Shawnee nation four Missions, one under the care of the Methodist Church South, one under the care of the Northern Methodist Church, one under the care of the Baptist Church, and the other under the care of the Society of Friends. They are all conducted on the manual labor system; about one hundred and forty children are generally in attendance at those schools. At the first-named Mission there are large and commodious buildings of brick, and other out-buildings, and five or six hundred acres under cultivation; at the other Methodist Mission, a farm of about one hundred acres is under cultivation, and comfortable log buildings are erected. At the Baptist Mission are good comfortable buildings, and, I suppose, near one hundred acres adjoining to, and at some distance from, the farm, where the school is kept; and at the Friends' Mission are a large frame house and barn, and other out-buildings, and about two hundred acres under cultivation.

There are slaves at the Southern Methodist Mission. The Indians are much divided on that subject, and it is to be deplored that this evil was ever introduced among this people, and more so, that this should be done by missionaries, whose object was, and I suppose, still is, to draw off the minds of the Indians from the evil of their ways in every sense of the term.

Some of the Shawnees have already got slaves; but are mostly those white men who have married into the nation; but as some of their teachers have them, who can wonder if more of those confiding people go and do likewise.

It is to be apprehended that there will be much difficulty among the Shawnees on that subject, as many of them do not believe in the system at all, and as the subject is agitating every section of the country, what a picture one of these Missions would present to the world! and there are just such pictures here among the Indians. What a stumbling-block this is! Such inconsistencies as are now to be seen here at some of these places! How infidels can retort on professing Christians on account of such conduct!

What a heterogeneous company compose one of those Missions! Rich slave-holding preachers, exhorters, and school-teachers; Indian chiefs, preachers, and scholars, too, rich in lands and other property—the whites receiving pay for their own labor, (and for the blacks' too), the Indians receiving the benefit; all members of the same church, eat their bread and drink their wine at the same communion table, and unite in the same family devotion! But then, too, there is another class of human beings at the same Mission, but alas for them, they are black! These, as some have it, are the descendants of Ham, are under Canaan's curse, and have no part nor lot in this matter, only to serve their brethren, the descendants of Japhet. "These reap down the fields, and their wages are withheld from them."

Such a course, as this, does not suit me. I have long been concerned for the welfare of the poor Indians, and labored for their instruction, too, but sooner than make slaves of another race of men, for whom, I believe, Christ died as well as for me or for the Indians, and who are as precious in his sight as I am, as an Indian is, or as a slaveholder is, and who has as much interest in an inheritance in the New Jerusalem as any of us have, I would let them alone; for I do most conscientiously believe we had better not say one word to them about religion, unless we strive to direct them in the ways of righteousness, truth, and justice toward all men, lest we make hypocrites of them at last. If this ever reaches any of those Missions, I hope it will be received in the right spirit, as from a friend.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

On the eighth of the second month, 1854, the Shawnees met in general council, at their meeting-house, to decide on the subject of forming themselves into a "body politic" by the adoption of a Constitution, preparatory to the forming of a code of laws for the government of themselves and the protection of their persons and property. On the question of, whether the nation was then in favor of the measure, it was referred to a council composed of the head chief (Joseph Parks, a sensible, intelligent man, who has long been in public business) and eleven of their oldest and best counselors. The question elicited a very warm and animated discussion, in which Parks, Blackhoof, and George McDougal participated, all of whom have been in active life for thirty years past. These men are all who are living of what they term "the old stock of the Ohio Shawnees." They have been in all the vicissitudes of life, through which the nation has passed since it was in its wild, savage, and uncultivated state; they have seen their people emerging from a barbarous state (for a long time slowly and tardily), have themselves advanced ahead—Joseph Parks at first, next Blackhoof, and afterward McDougal. These, as I remarked, are the only chiefs of the old set now living, except Letha, who is too infirm to attend to business. These three, entirely to their credit, took the lead; Parks has for many years, by his noble example in that of farming and raising stock, of advising his people to pursue a like course, of schooling his children and encouraging others to the same course, in advising and remonstrating with them against using strong drink, and in almost every other quality which constitutes or crowns a great man in the eyes of Christians; he has always fed the hungry and ministered to the wants of the poor, the destitute, and the afflicted. His house has been the resort of all classes; the sums he has bestowed on his people in this way, within the last thirty years, would amount to a fortune, and still he is very wealthy.

After having digressed thus far in the remarks I have been led into, respecting Joseph Parks, I shall recur to the council on the subject of a Constitution.

Parks acted as president of the council, or convention. He informed the council that he should not say much to them on the subject, but leave the matter very much to them, as they knew he had urged on the Shawnees, for years, to make laws for their government, and in this way to alter their manner of getting along. He said he had been head chief now for several years, that strangers often visited the different Missions that are among the Shawnees, and these people would ask him what kind of laws the Shawnees had—the answer was, none; they would ask if they had any chiefs, and who was their head chief—the answer was that they had, and that Joseph Parks was their head chief. The reply generally was—"Well, he is a good chief." "Now," said he, "suppose I am a good chief, what can I do? how can I work without tools? You have sent me out to work without anything to work with. How can you expect me to do your work without giving me in my hands tools to do your work with?" He said that our young men (some of them) would go into the State, and get liquor, carry it out by him, hold up the bottle to his face, and say, "Here is my whisky! spill it, if you dare!" "Well," said Parks, "I had no authority to do anything, and these fellows know it. Now, you make laws, and I will very soon let these men see whether I will do anything with them or not."

Blackhoof next spoke, and said, "That he was now an old man, that he had been in councils ever since he was a young man; that he heard his forefathers say, that the time would arrive when the white people would come from the east, and try to buy the Indians' land, and tell them that they would remove them beyond the great Mississippi river, and there, give them a home. That the white man was emigrating too fast from the east, and the red man would soon have no place to hunt game on, but the white men would soon be all round them. And our forefathers said, the whites would tell us, after we got there, that we will all be happy there, for there we will have all the country to ourselves, to hunt in, and that we never would be disturbed there any more, and that the red men would have to do like white men; that is, to go to work and raise such things as we shall need to live upon, and raise our families; raise corn, wheat, and stock, etc. They told us, that there would be good white people, that would teach our children how to read and write, and work too, and learn us all to live like white people do. That all good and reasonable white people would respect us.

They used to tell us, that all good Shawnee people would give their children to such people to be educated; all who wish their children well would do that—would trust them to good white teachers; that if we would thus give our children up to be educated in this way, that when they should grow up to be men and women, that they would be respected by good white people, and become wise and good; but that all the bad Indians would always hate these men and women, worse than they would the whites.

"Now," said Blackhoof, "it has turned out just so. These were the words of our forefathers, and they have all proved to be true. I myself saw the evils of drinking whisky ten years ago, and I quit drinking, and I have prospered ever since; and all who have left off drinking any length of time, are now doing well. They not only have plenty to do them now for the present, but they look forward to be provided with plenty to sustain them in their old age, when they are unable longer to labor, and therefore, they work hard now. My friends, this is the course we had better all pursue in future, and then the white people would look upon us as they do on their own people, and respect us; but as it is, they do not, for they look upon the drunkard with a scornful eye, and upon him who breaks his promise with contempt, and hate him.

"My brothers, it is now high time that we should try and do something for ourselves. I mean in this, that we should frame laws and regulations for the protection of our good citizens, and not allow those who do not work to impose on us. You may say you have chiefs elected once every year. I ask you what we have chiefs for? Well, the truth is, we have chiefs, but what for? I, for my part, do not know. I will try and explain this. We have chiefs to do the nation's business. You send us out to work for you, but you have never given us anything to work with. You might as well send us to the field to hoe your corn without hoes. Suppose you were to do that, how could you expect us to hoe your corn? but still you would turn round and grumble at us for not doing your work. Just so now, are your chiefs situated; you ask us to attend to your business, and have given us no authority to do it, and you turn on us and complain, because your business is not attended to, and because we do not stop this bad way, we are all getting along. If one man owes another anything and won't pay, how is the creditor to get his money? You may say, go to the chiefs and they will assist him. Now, let me ask you, what power have the chiefs to do anything for him? I answer, none at all. This is just like sending a man out to work without anything to work with. Now, let us make laws, and give our chiefs some authority to work, and they can work; they will make a good crop for the nation. I hope all will agree to go to work and make laws for our government, and authorize the chiefs to put these laws in force, so all of us may be protected in the possession of our property and in our persons. This is my wish, and it is all I have to say at this time on the subject."

Here I may remark, that Blackhoof is a son of the old celebrated chief of that name, about whom, I have said much in a preceding chapter. He was born in 1795, and is now about 60 years of age. I have been acquainted with him for nearly thirty years; he has always been counted an honest man, but not till a few years past, much inclined to work, but ever a friend to education, has sent all his children to school, and some of them are doing very well. He used to be very intemperate at times, but has entirely left off drinking strong drink, owns a good farm, well improved, with orchard and good house, as well as good stock of horses, cattle, etc. His wife is a neat housekeeper, and an industrious woman, but neither of them ever learned to understand or speak our language, although they have become so well acquainted with the customs and manners of the white people, and dress as the whites do. He is not a man of extraordinary ability, in comparison with his father, still, he is a good speaker, and a very kind-hearted man.

George McDougal followed in the same strain, detailing the manner of their getting along while they followed their wandering life; the hardships they met with before the labors of their friends commenced for their instruction, and drew a picture of their condition when in a savage state, and then contrasted it with their present condition, in which he was very happy and eloquent, and mixed his several comparisons with a good deal of wit. He said, "he had tried both places—that he liked the ways of the white men much the best anyhow; he liked not only the ways of white people best, but he liked them the best anyhow, and that if he knew he would live thirty years longer, that he would have a white wife if he could get one." This caused a great laugh among the Indians.

This man is near sixty years of age, is a very shrewd man, very lively, can speak our language some, and is a good speaker; used to be very intemperate, but has very much reformed, and now is a temperate man, well-informed, and a very honest man.

Several others took part in the discussion, and the debate closed the same day. But before it closed, George Bluejacket objected to the measure, and referred the council to the situation of the Wyandots, "who," he said, "had laws, and by that had learned many bad practices from the whites, such as card-playing, cheating, lying, and the like, and had got worse ever since." This man never had any education. Charles Bluejacket, (his brother,) replied, and among other things, wished to know how his brother came to know so much about the bad ways of these Wyandots and nothing of their good ones. He said he was thankful that, of the twelve counselors, only two were of his brother's opinion. Charles is educated, and is a very orderly, sensible man, has a good farm and buildings, and a well-furnished house, and lives well, and has good stock. He received his education with the Friends; he is about thirty-five years of age, and is a religious, sober man. The question on agreeing to a Constitution (after several others had taken part in the discussion) was carried by ten for, and two against it, so it was adopted.

I shall add a few of my reflections on the subject of again disturbing these people, in their happy and prosperous condition, which, I hope, may reach the feelings of some, so they can mingle their feelings of sympathy with mine, for these poor Indians, before they are entirely gone from the earth.

Most of the Shawnees who are now living, have been raised up entirely to the pursuits of agriculture, and it is the only way to procure a support for themselves and families that they know anything about. They know no more about a wild, roving life (many of them) than we do; and for them now to be driven from their location and pursuits, to seek a subsistence from the wild animals of the forest or the plain, they would do no better than the white people would in such circumstances.

It is my settled opinion that, if the Indians in what is called the "Indian Territory," do sell off a part of their lands, and the whites get settled among them, that it will matter little what the Indians may now resolve to do, or what they retain as reservations for themselves to live on, or how firmly they may establish their minds on a determination (at the time they may sell a part of their lands,) to forever continue on the remainder, they will ultimately *have* to leave, and seek a home somewhere else. This has ever been the case, and our government gets no better, that is certain.

We have been the cause of the destruction of nearly a whole race of men, by introducing strong drink among them, by our avaricious thirst for their land, and by the desolating wars we have carried into their country.

They have at last arrived at a crisis. What next are they to do? The few remaining fragments of tribes, who are concentrated in what is called the "Indian Territory," are now where, they were told, was the place set apart as an asylum for them, as long as any of them should live—a place of refuge for them and their posterity forever. This they learned from the American government. This, they were told, was to be kept out of the reach of the white man's grasp.

This country was purchased of its original owners expressly for that very purpose, marked out by metes and bounds for them, "never to be put under the white man's control—never to be trod by the white man's foot"—to be entirely under the unmolested management of the Indians themselves. The English vocabulary was exhausted to find language adequate to portray to these people the sympathy felt for them by the American government and the American people; and they were induced to believe that it was even so, that it *was* for their welfare, that the feelings of the people of the United States were so much awakened, notwithstanding they had heretofore manifested not much feeling for them, still they were credulous enough to believe them, and agreed, again, to leave their pleasant streams—their native hunting-grounds—their beloved homes—and, hardest of all, the graves of their fathers, and seek another home, to go to this "promised land" with the consolatory assurance of at last reaching a "Goshen," a land of rest. This cheered them on, as they expected this place would be to them a place of final refuge, where they could dwell in safety alone.

CHAPTER XLIX.

In the year 1660, there were about forty different tribes of Indians who inhabited the country east of the Mississippi river, and who were within what is named "the limits of the United States," and said to number about one hundred and ninety thousand souls. Of these, small remnants of a few tribes are still living in the States of New York and Michigan, and number little over twelve thousand; and of the remainder who existed as tribes at the time mentioned above, about fifteen tribes are now living west of the State of Missouri and Arkansas; many of these are but very small remnants of what were once numerous tribes. The whole number of these would, probably, not exceed fifty thousand. At least, one-half of the tribes who inhabited that country two centuries since, are now totally extinct—the races who composed them entirely gone from the earth.

So hard has been the fate of these people that, in the lapse of two centuries, they have disappeared before the white man until they are now reduced to little more than one-fourth their number at that period; while the whites have increased from a few thousands to twenty millions; and even the blacks have increased, in the same time, from a few hundreds to over three millions, and that, too, in a state of abject slavery.

All this has happened. Now, here is a serious question for Americans to solve: What has been the cause of this great disparity in the fate of these races of men? Who is to answer for this? There must be some cause, but what is it? Is it the climate? The answer is: It cannot be that, as the climate is congenial to the Indians, and they were prosperous here before the whites arrived in their country. Is it caused by the bad treatment of the white people? Ah! to this solemn question we are compelled to answer in the affirmative.

This attempt, at this time, again to purchase from the Shawnees their homes and send them to another in a strange land, has thrown them into great commotion, although many of them are aware of their right to the soil here, and that government will not force them from it if they refuse to sell; still many others are fearful that the United States will ultimately have all their country, and only have to refer back to past events to justify that fear, as they are now thrown into such a situation that they are becoming fearful of some of their own people, lest they may be betrayed by them. Being at present a sojourner among them, engaged in the Friends' Mission, I find that they are becoming very much unsettled in their minds, which is calculated to be of vast injury to them, as it will unsettle them and paralyze their efforts in improving their lands.

They know very well that they have been driven from one place to another, to make room for the whites, always with assurances that each removal will be the last. So often have they been treated in this way, that they, if again sent off, will utterly despair, and give over ever more striving for another home where they can remain; and if they are to leave here, as good policy, it seems to me, as any, would be to avoid all hypocrisy and false pretensions in the matter, and turn them over the line and give them up to their fate; then they would be no longer deceived (or not again deceived). They can, in turning to the west, see nothing but savages and wild beasts before them. If they leave their present manner of life for a wild one, they know very well they cannot live, and to pursue such a course as they now do, in that country, they are well aware, with them will be out of the question.

In many of the treaties with Indian tribes, and particularly after they have been engaged in a war which had been very destructive to the Indians, and which, in some cases, was caused by the conduct of bad designing white men, there is an article placed in a very conspicuous place in the treaty (generally the first article) declaring, that for the manifestations of good-will the said Indian tribes have for the United States, for their many acts of kindness toward them, and the benevolent course pursued in regard to them, and to defray the expense of the late war, etc., the said tribes hereby cede the following tract, or tracts, of land, etc. Now all this saying about ceding their lands as a token of respect and of the good-will the Indians have for the very people who have just conquered them, is altogether hypocritical in them; they, on such occasions, have not much good feeling for their conquerors, neither do they believe that their late enemies have shown them much protection in destroying all they could of their people. This is all wrong to compel them to sign such an article. It is contrary to the nature of an Indian's character to say such things as these. The truth would be told much better, in these treaties, to let them say, that because they have been overpowered in the late war, and to save themselves from destruction and their families from suffering, they agree to cede their lands away in order to pay for those desolating wars that have been carried into their country, in which their men have been killed, and the corn and whatever else they had provided for their women and children, have been destroyed, and unless they submit to the terms of their conquerors, they shall all perish together.

In giving the account of the treatment the Shawnees have received at the hands of the government and people of the United States, I have endeavored to give a true statement of facts as they transpired; so it is no picture, but, I trust, a fair account. I suppose that the Shawnees have fared about like the other tribes have, although they had reason to look for more favors than most others had, as many of them were fast friends and allies to the United States during the last war with England. But still, could we be furnished with a history of each of those Indian tribes, which once dwelt east of the Mississippi river; and the whole was contained in one volume, what a startling volume of alarming facts it would present! what disclosures of fraud would be made! what deception, wrongs, and cruelty would it contain! what a commentary would it afford on our Christian-professing, missionary people! This, in all probability, never will be done, but nevertheless, the facts of their multiplied wrongs are still standing as open accounts against us as a nation, and remain unaccounted for; restitution is not made; many whole tribes have become extinct under our treatment of them, and are forever out of our reach, and the remainder fast following them; and now, to crown the whole matter, an onset is to be made on them to send them off to seek another home; and to aggravate the crime, we are to tell them it is to better their condition that we wish them to leave where they now are "and seek a more desirable home." Well, now why do we say a more desirable home, when they are perfectly satisfied with their present home? This is hypocritical, to tell them we wish them removed to better *their* condition; that is not what we are after, it is their land we want, we know it is rich, or we would let the present owners remain on it at their wish

Names of Indian tribes who inhabited the country east of the Mississippi river in the year 1660, and who have become entirely extinct from the earth :—

Narragansets, Caneamens, Abenakes, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Androscoggin, Sakokees, Mohawk, Penacoaks, Massachusetts, Pakanookets, Pequods, Lennilenapes, Mohikans, Nanticokes, Corees, Powhattans, Illinois, Tuscaroras, Uchees, Natchez, Mobilians, Yemassees. In all, twenty-four tribes missing.

The following are the names of the tribes, still in existence, who, at the above period, resided east of the Mississippi river, and now reside west of that river, most of whom are mere remnants of tribes, to wit: Miamis, Muncees, Delawares, Shawnees, Creeks, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Menomenees, Sac and Fox, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Cherokees, Weas, Stockbridge, and Senecas. In all, eighteen tribes.

CHAPTER L.

CONVERSATION, purporting to be between a southern Missionary and an educated Indian, on the subject of the use of slaves at Christian Missions among the Indians.

Ind. How many races of men are there in the world?

Miss. Only one race; all are descendants of Adam.

Ind. After the flood, did not all come from Noah?

Miss. Certainly they did, but Noah descended from Adam.

Ind. How was it then, if all came of one man, that some are black?

Miss. That is a hard question for me to answer, but we know it is so. Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and as Ham signifies black, I suppose his posterity must be the Negroes, although he himself was of the same complexion as his brothers, as they had the same parents.

Ind. Well, I want to know how, if he was white, his posterity became black?

Miss. Noah was said to be a good man, but he drank too much wine, on a certain occasion, and became drunk, and Ham made sport of him, and when his father awoke out of his sleep, he found this out somehow, he became angry at Ham for his bad conduct, and cursed him for it, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem and Japhet," but, said he, "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren."

Ind. This was not Ham, though, but one of his sons. How did this happen, that Canaan was cursed for what his father had done, and his other children let go unpunished? but if Canaan was cursed, and his posterity after him, with servitude, how was it that they were made black too? but as the curse was only against Canaan, how can we contend that his posterity were cursed with servitude, as well as himself?

Miss. That is rather too hard a question to answer, but we think they were black, from the fact, that Canaan's father's name signifies black. We are satfied to have it so anyhow, and as Ham had his portion in Africa.

Ind. Is that the reason you make slaves of the blacks?

Miss. That is the best reason we can give you.

Ind. Well—this happened many years ago, did it not, nearly four thousand years back? but did there not a circumstance take place since that, to bring about a change in the order of things? What did Jesus Christ come into the world for, but to put an end to all such things, and to establish righteousness, peace, and justice on the earth, and to do away that of one race of men being punished for the sins of another, and that of people oppressing one another? What does the Testament say about that?

Miss. Yes, he did; and the Testament says, to put an end to sin, and finish transgression. This we all confess.

Ind. If he came for that purpose, and fulfilled his mission, how does it happen that sin yet abounds in the world? I should like to be informed about that.

Miss. Because bad people don't keep his commandments.

Ind. I wish now to be informed, how it happens, that the black people can be held in bondage by good missionaries; that I am very anxious to know? I don't understand it, and as you are here to teach the *Indians*, I want you to explain all about it, as I think it is wrong, and I don't see how it is right for even missionaries to do wrong.

Miss. I hardly know how to explain this to Indians, as I can scarcely understand it myself, but I have heard our best men say, that the blacks are much enlightened by being with us, if they are in bondage, as they see so much light from us by our godly worth before them; and that they will, if set free after a few more generations, know better how to appreciate freedom as well as Christianity.

Ind. Now, as each generation comes in, in a state of bondage, they remain so as long as they live, and die so, how is the following generation to get any light, more than their parents did? I should like to know that.

Miss. I cannot explain that so ignorant people can understand, only by telling them, that as we progress in the right path, and our lights shine with more brilliancy than our fathers did, so, of course, it will illuminate their path better, as they follow us in the ways of religion and truth.

Ind. I can't see how you have made much progress since the days of John Wesley and Adam Clarke, for they utterly condemned slavery; how can you follow them, and hold slaves?

Miss. We let our works show the progress we have made—our church Discipline shows that.

Ind. I can read very well, and I know that your Discipline says, that you are fully aware of the great evil of slavery. Do you believe with them, that slavery is a great evil—a sin?

Miss. Of course, we have to do that, or we should condemn these men; we suppose, if we believe them and the Testament, it is an evil—a sin to hold a slave.

Ind. Does your Church South, own Wesley and Clarke, as your great men?

Miss. We are bound to do that, although they condemn slavery as an evil, we expect to bring good out of it at last, by enlightening our slaves.

Ind. Must we continue to do evil, that good may come of it? must we sin, that grace may abound? I want that explained.

Miss. I can't answer that, so Indians can understand, what is to be done in such a case as this.

Ind. Is the course you are pursuing, in accordance with the fast, which the Prophet exhorts us to observe; that is, to loose the bonds of wickedness, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free?

Miss. That would be difficult for me to explain to you, being an Indian, so as to satisfy you, how we can be keeping such a fast as that, while we have slaves, and I would rather not have much to say about that.

Ind. Why don't you learn your slaves to read the Testament anyhow; you tell the Indians, it is the Lord's Book, you might learn them that much at your Sabbath school, and not lose much of their time; as it is the Lord's Book, let them learn to read it on the Lord's Day, anyhow.

Miss. I don't like to say much about this matter to the Indians, and it don't concern them anyhow, so we learn them to read it.

Ind. Do any of your slaves belong to your Church?

Miss. Yes, some of them do.

Ind. Do you have them in full fellowship, with you and your Indian members at the communion-table, and in your family devotions?

Miss. No, we never do, such a course would not do.

Ind. When Jesus commands us, to do to others as we would have others do to us, does he mean the blacks too, as well as others?

Miss. I suppose he does mean them too.

Ind. Would any of you missionaries wish to be slaves?

Miss. I suppose not, and now I have answered you so much, that I hope you will excuse me.

Ind. I find that you are tired of answering my questions, but as you are here for the purpose of teaching us a knowledge of the Scriptures, by explaining them to us, and of what our duty is, I wish to ask you a few more things, which I want you to explain to me. Here are four Missions among the Shawnees: the Baptist, Quakers, and what you call, "the Northern Methodist," and your own. The three first, do not hold slaves, because they think slavery is wrong, and so they tell us; but you hold them, and of course, you think it is not wrong, or you would not dare to have them in bondage. Now, what I want to know, is, if it is wrong for the others to hold slaves, how can it be right for you to hold them? They tell us it is contrary to the Bible, to oppress anybody, and as you have the same kind of a Bible, what is the reason you don't see as they do?

Miss. All I can say to that, is, that, of course, we ought to know what is right for us to do, before we teach others, lest we might lead them in a wrong path.

Ind. What kind of people was it that the Babylonians held as slaves, for which they were so bitterly complained of, for making merchandise of? Were they the descendants of Canaan, and all black? I would like to hear that explained.

Miss. I hope not to have to explain such things as that, as it would be hard for me to make ignorant people understand it; we can't attend to all these things, and hold slaves.

Ind. Well, you have not told me whether the other missionaries were wrong for not holding slaves, and advising us to the same course?

Miss. I am not sure about that myself, but just say, that the Indians can but judge us all, by our works.

Ind. Would you advise us to follow their example, or yours, in that matter?

Miss. I must beg you not to ask me any more such questions, but think of what I have told you already; I can't answer that question.

CHAPTER LI.

As a warrior and speaker, Cornstalk is the first we see much account of among the Shawnees. He lived to a considerable old age, but was at last barbarously murdered by the Americans. I find in "Howe's History of the Great West," these remarks: "The chief, Cornstalk, was a man of true nobility of soul, and a brave warrior. That when he returned to Piqua town, after the battle of Point Pleasant, he called a council of the nation to consult what should be done, and upbraided them in not suffering him to make peace as he desired, on the evening before the battle. 'What,' said he, 'will you do now? The Bigknife is coming on us, and we shall all be killed—now you must fight, or we are undone;' but no one answering, he said, 'then let us kill all our women and children, and go and fight till we die;' but no answer was made, when rising, he struck his tomahawk into a post of the council-house, and exclaimed, 'I'll go and make peace!' to which all the warriors agreed, 'Ough, Ough,' and runners were immediately dispatched to Dunmore to solicit peace.

"In the year 1777, he was atrociously murdered at

Point Pleasant. As his murderers were approaching, his son, Eli-nip-se-co, trembled involuntarily. His father encouraged him not to be afraid, for that the Great Man above, had sent him there to be killed, and die for him. As the men advanced to the door, Cornstalk rose up and met them; they fired, and seven or eight bullets went through him. So fell the great Cornstalk warrior, whose name was bestowed on him by the consent of the nation, as their great strength and support. Had he lived, it was believed that he would have been friendly with the Americans, as he had come over to visit the garrison at Point Pleasant to communicate the design of the Indians, of uniting with the Britishers. His grave is to be seen at Point Pleasant, to the present day."

The same author gives some account of Logan, the Mingo chief, in connection with Cornstalk, which, as he was the last who survived of his race, and who was engaged with the Shawness in Dunmore's war, I will insert the account, which is as follows:

"Logan, the Mingo chief, still indignant at the murder of his family, refused to attend the council, or to be seen a suppliant among the other chiefs; yet, to Gen. Gibson, who was sent as an envoy to the Shawnee towns, in a private interview, after weeping as if his very heart would burst, he told the past history of his wrongs in the following words:

"'I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and I gave him no drink; if ever he came cold and naked, and I gave him not clothing?'

"During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate of peace. Nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed by, and said: 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cræsap, in cold blood, and unprovoked, cut off the relations of Logan—not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; yet do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

This brief effusion of mingled pride, courage, and sorrow, elevated the character of the native American throughout the intelligent world, and the place where it was delivered (old Chillicothe) can never be forgotten, as long as touching eloquence is admired by men.

The last years of Logan were truly melancholy. He wandered about from tribe to tribe, a solitary and lonely man; dejected and broken-hearted, by the loss of his friends and the decay of his tribe, he resorted to the stimulus of strong drink to drown his sorrows. He was at last murdered in Michigan, near Detroit. He was at the time sitting with his blanket over his head, before a camp-fire, his elbows resting on his knees, and his head upon his hands, buried in profound reflection, when an Indian, who had taken some offense, stole behind him and buried his tomahawk in his brains. Thus perished the immortal Logan, the last of his race!

This same man had, on one occasion, as "the friend of the white man," saved the life of Colonel Kenton, after he had, the third time, been sentenced by the Indians to be burned to death.

How exceedingly cruel it was, after all he had done, after having his whole family destroyed by the Americans, that he was so little cared for, that he could, in his own native strain, lament that "there were none to mourn for poor Logan—not one!" Where was Colonel Kenton then, who was snatched from the flames, by this poor Indian, and who was then living?

Some of the descendants of Cornstalk are now living on Kanzas river. One of his sons lived to an advanced age. He was a war-chief and a very interesting speaker. He had given over his wandering life before he died, and was for several years a very sober, peaceable man.

CHAPTER LII.

On the fifth of the fourth month, 1854, the Shawnees, to the number of about one hundred, met the United States agent in council, at their meeting-house, to which council they were called, by him, to hear a proposition from government, relative to the purchase of their lands. They were called to order about one o'clock, P. M. He made a few remarks to them, introductory to the reading of the instructions he had received from the Indian Department at Washington City, in which he informed them, "That their great father, the President of the United States, was very desirous to know if they were willing to sell a part, or all of their land here; that he was continually urged by his white children to buy more land for them, as they had become so numerous that they wanted more room, and had, indeed, become very impatient, and many of them were now at the line, waiting only for the Shawnees to sell, to get over; that they were becoming so anxious to remove here that he did not know but those behind might soon crowd on, that they would be over anyhow. He said that the Shawnees had only one great friend, and that was the President; that he wanted to protect his red children; that they had better take his advice, for if he was to withhold his protection from them, the whites would take possession of their country, and if they did, the Shawnee nation would not be in existence five years," etc.

He said, though, that the Shawnees could do as they pleased, they could keep all their land, or sell a part, or all; that the United States would not take it from them without their consent.

He then produced a power of attorney, (from the office of Indian affairs) authorizing eight delegates, appointed by the Shawnee nation, to proceed to Washington, with full power to conclude a treaty with the United States, for the sale of such part, or all their lands, as they might agree to sell, in the same way, and to be as binding as if the whole nation were present and agreeing to the same.

The agent put the question whether they were in favor of sending a delegation as proposed.

The vote stood: for the delegation, 52; against it, 32—in all, 84. The agent, then, named eight persons as delegates, to wit: Joseph Parks, (well known in former treaties,) Blackhoof, George McDougal, Henry Bluejacket, George Bluejacket, Charles Bluejacket, Longtail, John Bobbs, and Graham Rodgers. These were all declared by the agent to be the choice for delegates, though no vote was taken on their appointment; neither was a vote taken by the agent whether the Shawnees were willing to sell all their land or not. The agent, it was said, as well as the delegation now announced as having been appointed, understood that they would be bound by the resolution of the nation, in presence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the preceding fall, which was, "that they would sell one million of acres off the west end of their land, but would retain the other for their own use," which contained nearly all their improvements.

This was, perhaps, as good a delegation as they could have selected in the nation. Six of them were of the Ohio band, all men of intelligence, and well calculated to watch their own interests; and the other two belonged to the Missouri band, and were very good Indians, and one of them very intelligent.

The Shawnees were very much alarmed at the idea of holding this treaty at Washington, instead of having it, as usual, in their own country; they dreaded the result, lest government might overpower them and get all their land.

The delegation made a treaty at Washington City, and they were true to their trust, and guarded well the interests of their people. They, by that treaty, ceded to the United States one million acres of land, to be taken off the west end of their land, for sixty cents per acre, in cash, to be paid in large installments, and the best of all is, that the treaty provides that none of this money shall be taken to pay claims which may be held against the nation. The part retained by them is about thirty miles west by twenty-five south; out of this the Shawnees have the liberty to select for each individual, of every age, two hundred acres, wherever they may choose to select it, within this last-mentioned tract, as a permanent home for them—each family selecting the tracts as near together as convenient. The Shawnees, by the treaty, cede all this tract to government, (as it is now in their name deeded by government,) then, in order to make their rights good for these two hundred acres each, the United States, after the selections are made, are to deed to each one his or her tract of two hundred acres, in fee-simple, and then, in five years, (unless the Shawnees, who now live in the south end of Kanzas Territory, choose to settle on it,) it is to be sold, and the proceeds go to the Shawnee nation.

I consider the Shawnees made a treaty, in this case, which was worth more to them than all the treaties they ever made, if they can only get leave to remain on this land—which is among the uncertain things which are in the future.

In this treaty, government paid the Shawnees, for damages from the whites, the sum of $27,000.

CHAPTER LIII.

OSAGE WEDDING.

While residing as agent among the Osage Indians, in 1850, I was invited, with my family, to attend a wedding. The marriage was between two half-breeds, both of whom were educated—one at the Harmony Mission, and the other at the Osage Catholic Mission. The marriage was to be consummated at the Catholic Mission, after their order. The young man's parents resided about five miles distant from the Mission.

The parties, very politely, both invited us to be present on the occasion, and offered to send their ox-teams and wagoners, and haul us, but we had conveyances of our own. About ten in the morning, all parties repaired to the Catholic church. The ceremony was administered by the priest, and advice on the occasion, and prayer, etc., attended to, when the meeting was dismissed and the company set off for the "dinner-place." The married couple rode foremost, and next, their two attendants—all dressed very nicely and costly, and on fine horses—then the company promiscuously, some in horse-wagons, some in ox-wagons, others on horseback, and many on foot—dogs by the score, too. Altogether the company extended for a considerable distance, and made a very antic appearance indeed.

On arriving at the residence of the young woman, and observing this singular company all gathered in and around the house, I was struck with the novel sight: there were dragoons, in uniform, from Fort Scott, Frenchmen, Cherokees, Quapaws, Senecas, Caws, Osages, Negroes, and American citizens, all there, mingling together, conversing in seven or eight different languages, and having as many different complexions. Every kind of dress, from the richest silk and broadcloth to the old dirty blanket. There were ponies, mules, jacks, horses, oxen, and dogs, to any number, and fighting each other all round.

All seemed to enjoy themselves well, except one man, a half-breed Osage and generally a clever fellow, who had got whisky, was drunk, and very mad; for some time he appeared to be dangerous, but at length, finding that the agent would have him arrested, he became quiet and there was no more trouble with him that day.

Soon dinner was ready. There was placed in the yard a table, about sixty feet long, which was literally loaded with dishes and victuals of an excellent quality, and very well done up, too, but then there was trouble there, for the hundreds of dogs, which had made their appearance on the ground, by this time wanted to be eating, too. Provision though had been made for this anticipated contingency, so those little fellows had to wait till their turn might come round; there was a tall young Osage gentleman, dressed in a clean white blanket from his hips down, and his upper-half naked and checkered off with antique figures made with red paint, his face and his head painted as red as paint could make them, and not a hair on his head except a small knot on the top. There he sat, large as life, about the middle of the table, with a nice long whip, made for the occasion, and which was long enough to reach to each end of the table. This whip he used very dextrously, and many a poor dog suffered by it. There he sat, with all the dignity imaginable, in his new office.

While the dinner-table was being made ready for the whites and the more favored class of guests, there were, I should guess, about twenty cooking-fires, in and about the yard, where the common Indian women were cooking their own dinners. They had a number of large beeves killed. Those who were cooking at these outside fires, had large pieces of beef stuck upon stakes before the fires, and were broiling them before these fires; large kettles of soup were boiling over the coals, and any quantity of coffee making, too, in kettles. Now there was no dog-master allotted to these places, and those half-starved creatures must eat somewhere. The man at the table beat them away from there, and then they would run straight to the other cooking-places. The Indian dogs are generally remarkably tractable, but here were many young ones who were not used to such crowds and were not well trained, and probably felt a good deal like many of their owners did, that, as there was plenty, on every hand, they would make sure of one full meal anyhow.

The women had a hard time, and were to be pitied. The children would be continually dipping their little dirty hands into everything, which was bad enough to bear, but then, the dogs would push their noses right *in* the soup, or pull at the broiling beef; but they paid dear for *their* morsel, for the cook being furnished with a long heavy paddle, with which she kept the soup or coffee in motion, would just as sure paddle the dog on the head or back, as ever he put himself about the victuals, and not be much troubled either, as she would put her paddle right back, and not be at the trouble of cleaning it at all.

When the dinner was ready, the newly-married couple were seated very cleverly at the table, and most of the whites and half-breeds too ate at the same table; which was well attended to by the cooks, and all were very orderly, though a great deal of talking went round, and I may add, that the eating continued until dark. I believe I never saw as much provision consumed in one afternoon before.

Great respect was shown to us, and indeed they gave the preference to the white people entirely.

After the first table was through with dinner, an old black man, who could understand and converse in the Osage language as well as an Indian could, and could make all the fun they desired, drew out his fiddle, and the young people had a real dance till we left, near night, and, as I learned from others, nearly the whole night.

Those of the Indians, who had to cook and eat on the ground, appeared just as happy as those who were more favored, and such as were not invited at all took no offense at being slighted.

There was a great expense attending this marriage, which, according to the Osage rule, has to be borne by the young man who has been so fortunate as to get a wife.

There was an old Indian woman who went about, the whole afternoon, among the crowd, shouting and chanting in the Osage language, which I could not understand. This woman, as I was informed, was hired for that purpose, and paid for her services a horse and many other articles.

I believe about four hundred people ate dinner at that singular wedding.

I learned that some of the Indians remained on the ground until everything fit to eat was consumed.

THE END.